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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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28 March 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

## REPORT ON FIFTH CONGRESS OF BULGARIAN WRITERS' UNION

### Opening Ceremony, Agenda

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 84 pp 1, 12

[Unattributed article: "The Agenda of the Fifth Congress"]

[Text] On 17 and 18 December, in the auditorium of the National Assembly, the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Writers' Union [SBP] was held with the opening being attended by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The Fifth SBP Congress commenced its work on 17 December in the auditorium of the National Assembly.

On their feet, with long unabating applause, the creators of the Bulgarian artistic world enthusiastically greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Taking their places on the congress presidium were Comrades Grisha Filipov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Georgi Yordanov and Stoyan Mikhaylov.

Also present was the Deputy Chairman of the State Council Georgi Dzhagarov, the Minister of National Education Aleksandur Fol, the First Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee Stanka Shopova and leaders of the sociopolitical organizations, the creative unions and central institutes.

Along with the delegates in the auditorium were also the guests who had arrived from the socialist countries: Dozhoogiyin Tsedev, the chairman of the Mongolian Writers' Union, Janos Domagalik, the secretary of the Polish Writers' Union, Alexandru Popescu-Tigina from the Romanian Writers' Union, Vitaliy Ozerov, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union, Valentin Kotkin, deputy chairman of the Commission for Overseas Ties of the USSR Writers' Union, Miklos Jovanovic, the general secretary of the Hungarian Writers' Union and Rudolf Hmel, deputy chairman of the CSSR Writers' Union.

The high writers' forum was opened by the Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and twice Hero of Socialist Labor, the people's cultural figure Mladen Isaev. (The speech of Mladen Isaev is published separately.) The first working session of the congress was chaired by Bogomil Raynov.

Honored by a minute of silence was the memory of those who died during the period since the Fourth SBP Congress: Vasil Popov, Dimitur Khronov, Vasil Karateodorov, Konstantin Gulbov, Lozan Strelkov, Dimitur Osinin, Andrey Germanov, Dragomir Asenov, Dimitur Stoevski, Mitko Gorchivkin, Tsvetan Angelov, Ivan Mirchev, Kiril Voynov, Anna Kamenova, Iliya Volen, Maksim Naimovich, Emil Manov, Nikola Marinov, Nikolay Yankov, Stefan Modrev, Konstantin Kolev, Miroslav Minev, Aleksandur Karparov, Dora Gabe, Nedelcho Draganov, Teodosiy Anastasov, Usin Kerim, Grigor Ugarov, Petko Buyukliev, Pavel Vezhinov, Nikolay Staykov, Slavcho Krasinski, Aleksey Sergenski, Boyan Bolgar, Petur Pondev and Dimitur Simidov.

The agenda was adopted and the congress working commissions were elected. After this the floor was turned over to the Chairman of the SBP Lyubomir Levchev, who gave the speech "A Literature of Historical Optimism." (The speech of Lyubomir Levchev is published separately.)

The report of the Auditing Commission was given by its chairman Petur Neznakomov.

The second working session which was led by Academician Panteley Zarev began discussing the two speeches and the previously issued report of the Administrative Council concerning the activities of the Union between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses.

Speaking were Kamen Kalchev, Georgi Konstantinov, Atanas Nakovski, Matey Shopkin and Yordan Radichkov. (The statements are published with cuts.) On the first working day of the congress, greetings were extended by the Secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Vitaliy Ozerov. (The greetings are published separately.)

In his greetings the Chairman of the Mongolian Writers' Union Dozhooigiyn Tsedev recalled the National Literature Days held this year in Bulgaria and Mongolia, in emphasizing their importance in the broad field of spiritual ties between our peoples.

The delegates and guests of the Fifth SBP Congress laid wreaths and flowers at the Mausoleum of the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people Georgi Dimitrov, at the Monument to the patriarch of Bulgarian literature Ivan Vazov and at the "Wounded Pegasus", a memorial to writers who perished in the struggle for liberty.

The sessions on the second working day of the congress, 18 December, were led by Kamen Kalchev, Nikolay Khristozov and Slav Khr. Karaslavov.

Speakers included Nikolay Zidarov, Academician Panteley Zarev, Efrem Karanfilov, Nikolay Petev, Boyan Biolchev, Evstati Burnaski, Simeon Sultanov, Aleksandur Karasimeonov, Mikhail Vasilev, Salis Tadzher, Slav Khr. Karaslavov, Nayden Vulchev, Dimitur Kanushev, Kol'o Sevov, Petur Anastasov, Tan'o Klisurov, Lilyana Stefanova, Lyuben Stanev, Georgi Strumski, Bozhidar Bozhilov, Nadya Kekhlibareva, Luchezar Stanchev, Vasil Kolevskiy and Dimitur Shumnaliev. (The statements are published with cuts.)

The Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the People's Army Lt Gen Mitko Mitkov welcomed the efforts of the writers to turn artistic literature into a powerful weapon for the military-patriotic and moral indoctrination of the younger generation and the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army.

The Secretary of the Polish Writers' Union Janos Domagilik extended cordial greetings to the Bulgarian writers from their Polish colleagues and had high praise for the assistance provided by the SBP to the literary creators of Poland.

In his welcoming word the General Secretary of the Hungarian Writers' Union Miklos Jovanovic spoke of the mutual enrichment of Hungarian and Bulgarian literature, in emphasizing that a number of Hungarian authors had been inspired by Bulgarian folk creativity.

Rudolf Hmel, the secretary of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union, emphasized that Bulgarian classic literature, like modern literature, has true and great respect and affection among the Czechoslovak readers.

Greetings on behalf of the Romanian Writers' Union were given by Alexandru Popescu-Tigina.

The greetings from the Central Komsomol Committee expressed confidence that the congress would open up new horizons for the creators of the word, that it would help in more actively mastering modern themes and bring out innovative, artistic means in depicting our socialist reality.

Congratulatory messages were also received by the Bulgarian Journalists' Union, the Translators' Union in Bulgaria, the Stage Artists' Union in Bulgaria, the Union of Bulgarian Fine Artists, the Bulgarian Composers' Union, the Musicians' Union, the Bulgarian Teachers' Union, the Union of Bulgarian Film Workers and the Architects' Union in Bulgaria. Congratulatory telegrams were received from the okrug cultural councils, from the ministries, the state and economic organizations and so forth.

A congratulatory telegram to the congress was heard from the oldest member of the SBP, Stefan Popvasilev.

The closing session of the congress was held. The report of the Credentials Commission was adopted. The congress delegates accepted with full approval and stormy applause the Letter to the BCP Central Committee. (The letter is published separately.) Also adopted was the Decision of the Fifth Congress of Bulgarian Writers. (The decision is published separately.) After this, they turned to electing the SBP Administrative Council and the Auditing Commission. Elected by secret ballot were the Administrative Council with a membership of 66 persons and an Auditing Commission with 24 members.

At its first meeting the newly elected SBP Administrative Council chose a Bureau. The first session of the Auditing Commission was also held.

With this the Fifth Congress completed its work.

Introductory Speech by Mladen Isaev

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Introductory Speech of Mladen Isaev at the Opening of the Fifth SBP Congress:  
"At the Urgings of the Heart"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Respected Guests, Comrades,

For us writers it is a great honor that both the previous writer forums as well as the Fifth Congress of Bulgarian Writers will be held in this historic auditorium where the highest body of the state, the National Assembly, meets and takes responsible decisions of national importance. It is particularly satisfying for us that our congress is being attended by the General Secretary of the BCP and Chairman of the State Council, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, a great supporter and patron of the writers' art, along with his associates from the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee. It is also a pleasure to note that representatives from the creative unions and prominent writers from the fraternal socialist countries are guests at our congress.

The Fifth SBP Congress is being convened during the jubilee 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. And we with justification can feel that this is also our jubilee congress. It obliges us to make a serious review not only of the previous 4 years of the Union's and creative activities but also to see the high accomplishments of our literature over the 4 decades.

Our present socialist realist literature, with its great accomplishments, is a continuation of the high democratic and revolutionary-socialist traditions of such giants of the written word as Botev and Vazov, Yavorov and Smirnenski, Geo Milev and Vaptsarov. As socialist literature, it is directed by the class-party, Leninist principles of the BCP and its April line.

When one seeks the basic theme of the Union's Fifth Congress and which expresses the spirit and core of our modern literature, the conclusion is reached, as Comrade Lyubomir Levchev concluded, that this is historical optimism. The most vivid creations of our present literature have been marked by an historical optimism. This optimism is not a groundless Utopia but rather a real prospect determined by strict, historical patterns.

In essence, historical optimism in the finest sense of the word is all Marxist-Leninist ideology and the policy of the BCP. This ideology and this policy are the guiding principle in the creativity of us, the writers. We have every reason to express our profound gratitude and satisfaction to the Party Central Committee and primarily to its General Secretary, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, for the warm concern and help shown to the creators of the artistic word.

As is known, we, the writers of socialist Bulgaria, have been accused by Western antisocialist propaganda that we write upon the bidding of the party. This very banal slander directed against the socialist writers at the Second Congress of the Soviet Writers' Union was answered by the pioneer of Soviet literature, the Nobel Prize winner, Mikhail Sholokhov. He said: "Of us, the Soviet writers,

the malicious overseas enemies say that we write upon the orders of the party. The question must be put differently: all of us write upon the urging of our heart and our hearts belong to the party and our people which we serve with our art."

This is also our reply to our overseas well-wishers.

We are very aware of in what a complex and alarming time we live and write and we feel all our responsibility to the future, the people and the party. Our words, as ideological and aesthetic weapons, must in a more vivid, just and impressive manner, express the great concerns, thoughts, feelings, worries and aspirations of the heroes of our times who are building mature socialism. We must confirm the truth and beauty of our socialist world. Along with this, it is our duty to direct the sharp points of our words against all that is obscure and misanthropic, against the so-called minor truth and against the terrible spread of misanthropy, war and obscurantism.

At this moment I would like to assure Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the other members of the Politburo and all our community that we will make every effort for our congress to be an impressive expression of the unity of the writers around the party's general April line and the high commands of our age and that we will be worthy sons of our valorous and heroic people.

With these words, allow me to open the Fifth SBP Congress and turn the floor over to Comrade Bogomil Raynov, who will chair the continuing session of the congress.

#### Report of Writers' Union Chairman

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 84 pp 1, 3-6

[Speech by Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the SBP: "A Literature of Historical Optimism"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Comrades, Dear Colleagues,

A man's life slips by unnoticed when it is full of events, hard work and struggle and creativity. And so another 4 years have passed since the Fourth Congress and the moment has come again of a major creative summing up, of a reporting to our human and writers' conscience and to the people for whom we live and create and to the party to whom we have dedicated our heart and will.

And this time which has slipped by has been full of creative deeds, quiet and noisy, painful and happy, disputed and undisputed, matters of our Union and which has brought together the personal self-denial and creative ardor of all its members.

What have been the main areas of our activities? For the SBP this has been the carrying out of the moving instructions of Comrade Todor Zhivkov: to concentrate our attention, to focus our concern on improving the "work areas," the "launching pads," the creative elements, that is, the editorial collectives,

where the new creations for the first time encounter a criterion and assessment, whether they will or not be given a "ticket" to live.

During the years between the Fourth and Fifth SBP Congresses, without noisy action, there was a major renewal of virtually all the creative elements, their editorial boards, their leadership and their working collectives. Without wishfully thinking that this task has been carried out, because such complex problems are not resolved by a magic wand, we still feel that the "work areas" of the SBP have been significantly intensified and stabilized. There has been a positive process of increasing the effectiveness and responsibility of our creative units. We have confidence in the talent and great principledness of these comrades and these collectives which in practical terms can be styled the midwives of the new Bulgarian socialist realist literature.

The same class-party exactingness is shown by the SBP to the problem of filling out and renewing itself with young and talented creators. An important step has been taken in overcoming the dangerous tendency toward the ossification of our creative organization. Some 47 new members have been admitted with a total membership of 363 persons at present.

I would like to say with particular satisfaction that the young creators who have gained the support of the SBP in their predominant majority have been worthy of this. They have shown creative activeness and a feeling of civil responsibility, in assuming and handling important and difficult ideological and creative tasks. This fact encourages us to believe that the line which we have set is a correct one and must be continued.

Our April debates improved the literary climate by concrete, active criticalness and self-criticalness which made it possible for us to shape more objective estimates of the artistic facts and phenomena, to more quickly and more accurately discover new positive or negative trends, and to pose and resolve the problems of socialist realism not in an abstract form but in a practical one. The April literary discussion justified its name in becoming a symbol of the ideological and creative maturity of the Bulgarian writers and Bulgarian literature. It is an original achievement of ours and possible only where creative thought is developed on a class-party basis and at the same time socialist democracy is fostered.

A fundamentally important success was the creation and adoption of our specific program-plan which corresponded to the long-range programs of integrated culture. This was carried out upon the ideas and with the personal involvement of Lyudmila Zhivkova, under whose portrait at the SBP there are always fresh flowers of affection and gratitude.

The carrying out of our program-plan has made it possible for us in a natural and effective way to integrate our activities in the spiritual sphere. We are grateful for the understanding and support which we have received from the Committee for Culture.

In carrying out the policy of saving money and most importantly in increasing the profits of our publishing house, the SBP is converting to self-support and

is abandoning the state subsidies. Unfortunately, we were not strong enough to take a second, more decisive step in employing the opportunities of the new economic mechanism. But still what has been achieved will provide us with an opportunity to foster broad-scale initiatives. We are confident that the Sofia writers' meetings will show rather categorically how much the international prestige of Bulgarian literature has risen. April Bulgaria has been turned into an indisputable and attractive world literary center.

At present, Bulgarian literature is being translated throughout the world twice as much as 7-8 years ago. Prominent Bulgarian writers such as Georgi Dzhagarov, Dimitur Metodiev, Yordan Radichkov and many others have gained prestigious international distinction and awards. The basic joy and concern for us remain daily writer activities related to literary celebrations and anniversaries, meetings with writers and meetings with heroes of future books. It would be difficult to enumerate all the lines and contacts in carrying out the contracts with the okrug party committees and to whom we must voice our profound gratitude because they give us an irreplaceable opportunity to delve more profoundly into life.

On the Day of the Bulgarian Written Word, the SBP creates in each of the old capital cities a memorable forum of the Bulgarian language. The textbook on literature has brought us satisfaction and, let us admit, also pride and this has been a concern of our joint work with the public teachers. There have also been the literary forums of the People's Palace of Culture and the activities of the new book club "The Bulgarian Writer," which we have organized and run, the World Poetry Theater in Varna and so forth. It would be impossible to enumerate all the literary holidays with which the cultural calendar of Bulgaria is so rich. Such a difficult and at the same time responsible task would fill out the report on the SBP activities during the period between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses.

Yes, the activities of the SBP are becoming ever greater. They provide all the members with an opportunity for an active, full ideologically creative and sociopolitical life.

Is such a state of affairs normal?

Would we not be wasting excessive time and energy on the so-called "measures" which take us away from our sheet of paper, from our pen and typewriter?

It must be admitted that many still feel that a writers' work is merely to write and anything else is a waste of time. This, certainly, is not the case. For a writer must go through a good deal, he must assimilate things from life and improve this within his soul in order to return it to others as an artistic truth, as beauty. The writer is working primarily when he is experiencing. Recall the old sacred rule of Nekrasov:

You may not be a poet,  
But you must be a citizen.

The growing intensity of our union's creative and social life undoubtedly poses an important problem for us--the problem of the appearance of the modern

socialist creator and his way of life. This question is as much personal as it is social. At various times the writer had a different social image. A patrician among patricians, a slave among slaves, a knight among knights. At present, the writer in terms of the goal and sense of his work as well as in terms of his social responsibility and importance is closest to a party worker, to an ideological worker. The high creative intensity in our union's life fully corresponds to the high creative intensity which prevails in all our motherland. It is indicative that our comrades who are most involved and most burdened with social tasks and obligations, as a rule, also show the highest creative activity, maturity and fruitfulness.

Our literature continues to be in a state of the bounteous and real April creative flourishing. We are pleased by the activity of the writers of all generations and all literary genres. I cannot refrain, in skipping ahead in my speech, from stating categorically that among the large number of new creators there are those who possess high artistic creative merits, who show the ascending development of the general literary process in Bulgaria and fill us with confidence to say that our new, socialist realist literature is developing successfully.

To what are these indisputable successes due and how can they be explained?

In all the activities of the SBP to encourage the general literary process, we have been guided and are guided continuously by the decisions of the 12th Party Congress, the National Party Conference and that April spirit of increased exactingness for class-party purity and for belief in the truth of life and its creators who have immured themselves in an historical feat.

In accepting the party insights as its guiding principle, our literature has become evermore profoundly popular and evermore profoundly democratic. This sacred key to the crucial role of the party and to the national and general human is virtually incomprehensible for the bourgeois ideology but for us it is the basic creative weapon.

It is a great joy and privilege for us to be so close to the simple and powerful breath of life and the developing creative Marxism-Leninism today.

At the last November Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov set out an impressively complete and profound Program for the Socioeconomic Development of the Nation up to the year 1990 and in light of the present-day international situation and its prospects. This for us is a new, inestimable school for class-party understanding, for political realism and revolutionary optimism at present and for progress in the future with the gleam of the communist ideal.

We, the Bulgarian writers, are profoundly grateful to the party, the Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally for the constant and concrete guiding concern and for that enormous trust and spiritual generosity in calling us comrades in arms before the entire world.

We can have only one means of repaying this and that is by total, honest and talented creativity.



## II

The years have confirmed the correct choice of the theme and correct approach to the problem which was posed by our Fourth Congress, the image of our contemporary, the image of the builder, the image of the communist, the life-affirming hero seen as the key to our basic ideological and creative tasks. This has withstood the test of time.

Certain fears by some that the problem of the positive hero could turn us back to obsolete dogmatic and schematic theoretical ideas, to a sterile literary practice of years gone by, had to be overcome and, I feel, have already been dissipated.

At present, it is clear to everyone that dogmatism and revisionism, as leftist and rightist dangers, have been decisively and finally eradicated from our social and literary reality.

But, while disassociating ourselves at one time with its phraseology, we cannot disassociate ourselves from the problems and themes which are of eternal and permanent significance, eternal and permanent pertinence. We must better understand and support the new which is being brought by our times into the understanding of such "eternal" problems and themes.

This was also the case with the global theme of the positive hero.

From the very outset we have categorically set ourselves apart from that literary practice which was condemned by ourselves and the April spirit of a vanished reality and sweet lack of conflict against the background of which its positive heroes were revealed, schematic, unreal, without sins, like saints.

Yes, we are categorically against such literature. We feel that it is organically alien to socialist realism. It has been laid at the door of socialist realism. But while certain relapses are also always possible on the basis of creative impotence and lack of talent, a return to such ossified literary "theory and practice" is impossible.

We feel that this problem is clear to all and we are pleased by the promising results in the development of our vital literary process.

Our public accepts with satisfaction and warmly supports these trends in literature. This gives us the courage and confidence to make the next step: to raise at the Fifth SBP Congress one other fundamental problem in socialist realism, the problem of historical optimism in literature.

The tie between the positive hero and optimism in the theory and practice of socialist realism is an obvious one. A good man can be an optimist or a pessimist. But a positive hero is not merely a good man. A positive hero is revealed as a heroic and life-affirming individual through his credo and through his positive decisions to which he leads us in life, in the subject and ideological concept of the creative work.

Only optimism can give us these positive decisions not only on the individual level but also on the sociohistorical one. A constructive, affirmative ideology cannot help but be optimistic. The positive hero can be life-affirming only to the degree that he serves historical optimism. For precisely this reason we perceive our new subject as the next step, as the step from the positive hero to the positive decision.

As a problem and as a creative task, optimism, including historical optimism, is not a new one for our literature and is not being posed for the first time here.

More than 12 years ago, in his welcoming speech on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the SBP, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated:

"Our socialist system is optimistic, vital and ebullient in inexhaustible strength. Optimistic, vital and affirming must also be the character of our socialist literature, art and culture. For this reason we appeal so ardently to the writers and other creators to establish the positive principle in life, the progressive in the development of our country."

In his fourth lecture of a series given to students and instructors at the Academy of Social Sciences in 1983, Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized the problem from the present viewpoint as follows:

"Mature socialism needs artistic discoveries and supreme works, creative works which are national in form and socialist in nature dealing with socialist reality in its significance, scope and historical optimism, works of an age with lasting, permanent, general human importance."

The theme of historical optimism in our literature can be called a constant, permanent April theme. But precisely the permanent tasks and ideas must be realized and analyzed anew each time and not only in words but also in deeds.

The problem of historical optimism has concerned all the pioneers and founders of socialist realism. They seized upon optimism as the political vein, as that bias which distinguishes socialist realism from classic or critical. Optimism for them was the basic ideological source of the impulses for innovative searches in the right direction.

We are brought back to this truth by the documents of the epoch-making First Congress of the Soviet Writers' Congress, the 50th anniversary of which was celebrated by a stirring, triumphant plenum. At that time, a half-century ago, the conditions of the fascist dictatorship did not allow a single Bulgarian writer to attend as a guest of the congress. But we are proud that the hero of Leipzig, Georgi Dimitrov, was elected by ovation to the honorary presidium of the congress. At present, in the historic Kremlin Hall, we had the good fortune to express our inspiration and admiration to the cause of the great Gorkiy phalanx and to all Soviet literature.

Certainly, if one were to search for the deeper springs of optimism and the revolutionary geneology of our ideal, we would be led back to those who founded scientific communism, to Lenin, Engels and Marx.

This is essential, because a fuller and clearer definition of the idea which we invest at present in the concept of optimism, and even more into the concept of historical optimism, will protect us from undesirable, inaccurate interpretations as well as against a conscious falsification of our ideologically creative position. This is also required by the multiplicity of sometimes very contradictory interpretations of the very word optimism which are encountered in books.

Let me rank these semantic differences as follows: 1. The world initially was good. 2. The world is not perfect but is developing and progressing toward the better, and 3. a man can change the world and make it better, in realizing his dreams and Utopias.

Optimism is a way of thinking, a view of the world, a belief in progress. Optimism is a view which generally and eternally stands in opposition to pessimism. Also widespread is the bourgeois notion of optimism merely as contentment with the existing situation. The words that we live in the best of all possible worlds belong to Leibniz who enthroned absolute optimism. But even he foresaw an infinite improvement in this best of worlds.

The notion of optimism as a complacent exaltation of all that exists is profoundly alien and unacceptable to our philosophy and ideology. In addition to the inveterate and, so to speak, aware pessimists who are the natural and mortal opponents of optimism, there is a small group of thinkers, and even ordinary people, who feel that both pessimism and optimism are equally invalid views of the world. Possibly this is the ideological basis of apoliticism.

At one stage of his creative searching, Aleksandr Blok confessed that "optimism generally is a particularly complex and rather poor ideology which ordinarily excludes the possibility of totally perceiving the world. Usually it justifies itself to others and even itself by the fact that it is the opposite of pessimism. But it never coincides with the tragic viewpoint which alone is capable of providing a key to penetrate the complexity of the world."

Before the end of his short life, Blok had outlived and gone beyond these views. But they are interesting as they are characteristic of a rather widespread misunderstanding of the problem. Naturally, such a "tragic viewpoint" does not exist. The problem of the tragic is enormous and exceptionally important for aesthetics, for art and for literature. It is partially linked to the problem of the hero. For many, the tragic and pessimism are related. But in life and hence in art the optimistic viewpoint is a more serious prerequisite for the truly tragic and particularly for the tragic of the heroic. The pessimistic viewpoint, in promising us nothing good, in essence deprives us of disappointment and as often as I have encountered pessimists in this life, they live far more complacently than the optimists although they complain continuously. They are much less inclined to take a risk, they are not at all inclined to altruism, they see no purpose in the heroic act and they do not emit that human radiance which belongs to people who work with inspiration for the good of society.

The counterpoint might be raised: yes, but pessimists much more frequently commit suicide. I am not a specialist but I doubt this. Neither Yesenin,

Mayakovskiy, Yavorov and Pen'ko Penev were pessimists. Optimists take collisions with reality and time much harder and sometimes tragically. It can be said that they above all suffer from a setback, they sacrifice themselves to the new and they affirm it.

But people are not divided into "pure" pessimists and optimists. Both pessimism and optimism live and struggle within each of us. An optimist does not automatically mean a kind, just, blameless, progressive man. Nor does the pessimist mean the opposite. Generally speaking, when it is a question of living people, these concepts (which generally are abstract ones) can hardly be applied in a pure, absolute, ultimate form as qualifications, as a label or as a sign of excellence. The same applies to literary figures and heroes. Such oversimplification is alien to us.

However, as for the sphere of ideas which are supported, developed and avowed by a person or a writer through his heroes or his personal thoughts, in the entire ring of a work or a creation, the optimistic and pessimistic view can easily be discovered and defined. Moreover, a definition is imperative.

We must depart, at least briefly, from the general literary, popular definitions and interpretations of the concept of optimism and consider that this is employed as a specific term in several different areas: in science as gnoseological optimism, in politics as an ideological element and lastly in art and literature as an aesthetic category. We know how lamentable and unforgivable for a writer to confuse words and terms from different spheres and areas of thinking and knowledge. Tolstoy proposed that writers who use words without knowing what they mean should be given a good thrashing. In order to avoid a beating, we will keep predominantly to the freer literary sense.

And when we raise the question of optimism, we must refer without fail to science, because here scientific consistency is an exceptionally important requirement. We espouse scientific communism and not Utopian. For us, optimism which does not have a scientific basis is counterfeit. From such invalid optimism there is not only no benefit but also definite harm.

For philosophy, the duel between pessimism and optimism is older than the terms themselves.

It is asserted that the philosophical, gnoseological watershed between pessimism and optimism derived from the attitude toward the infinity of the universe and from the attitude toward death and immortality.

Pessimism was an expression of the inescapable terror when confronted with infinity while death was proof of the complete absurdity of everything. And it was no wonder that then God remained the sole salvation.

Let me recall the lament of Blaise Pascal: "The emptiness of this starry infinity terrifies me" and "we are rushing toward the abyss as if we had put something in front in order not to see it."

And Du Bois-Reymond in a speech on limits of knowledge voiced the remarkable words: "What is the nature of things? I do not know! And I will never know!"

This is what gnoseological pessimism means and how it sounds in its most brilliant form.

The more modern pessimists such as Jaspers, Freud or Orwell will scarcely gain anything impressive in the abyss of despair.

But let us listen to what the other side, gnoseological optimism, has to say. Baruch Spinoza as if joking said: "A free man is least of all concerned with death and his wisdom is in being concerned not with death but with life." Feuerbach said like a poet: "Each instance you imbibe from the cup of immortality which is refilled like Oberon's cup."

And since the philosophers speak like poets, we will allow ourselves to say something as philosophers: death is the basic argument of pessimism while life is the basic argument of optimism. In a certain sense, the end is the sign of pessimism and infinity is the sign of optimism. In asserting that the universe is eternal and infinite, dialectical materialism and Marxist-Leninist philosophy voice their great optimism.

For us, scientific progress is a great source of optimism because it does not encounter limits and because it constantly convinces and shows us that there are not unsolvable problems just as there are no finally solved problems.

The nature of the concept of optimism is a profoundly class-party one and also a human and social attitude which we define as optimism. The problem of an optimistic viewpoint which one or another society possesses is a problem of exceptional importance as it is the struggle for the future. In recognizing the enormous latent energy which this optimism can liberate as an engine of historical development, each religion, each ideology and each social movement has endeavored to utilize it. A great deal of demagogic optimism has been acquired in the history of human civilization and much obscurantism has been concealed behind an optimistic scrim. Stupidity has also been inclined toward optimism and this has caused irrecoverable loss. Many still recall the evil Nazi optimism, Goebbels optimism, which virtually to the grave proclaimed "the ultimate victory is ours...."

No! We are in no way in favor of just any optimism.

How do antiscientific and antihumane ideas become widespread?

In the Holy Book Ecclesiastes, or the Prophet, it is stated: "Vanity, vanity, all is vanity!", "much knowledge is much suffering!" and "there is nothing new under the sun!"

On this question Engels wrote lines full of murderous irony:

"There is nothing new under the sun! This is one of the most fortuitous pseudo-truths for which the most brilliant career was prepared and which has traveled around the world, from mouth to mouth, as a victorious campaign and after centuries is still so frequently encountered as if it had just been born. Real truths are rarely so fortunate. They must fight and suffer, they are maimed

and buried alive with each person shaping them in his own way. There is nothing new under the sun! No, there is rather a lot that is new!"

Were Marx and Engels optimists or skeptics? As strange as this seems, this question can be posed because the very word optimism is not in their vocabulary. We who have embraced the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and who carry over this credo into the new April expanses, we are obliged to understand the genesis of our ideal.

Marxism-Leninism is the greatest reservoir of historical optimism which mankind has ever possessed. "We are creating a teaching which not only explains the world but also struggles for its change." This is not merely a rephrasing and quoting of Marx, this is the voice of militant revolutionary optimism.

"For us perpetual hesitations are infinitely contrary, as is a Philistine fear of the new. We want to emerge in the expanses of the free world, we wish to defend wisdom and fight for the crown of life, a feat."

This is how Engels himself linked optimism with heroics at that time when the word optimism still belonged to the bourgeoisie but its profound sense already belonged to the proletariat.

The fruit of a profound miscomprehension is the prejudice that optimism takes an uncritical look at the world while pessimism involves a critical principle.

Marx and Engels put at the very essence of our ideology a system of scientific control or controlling of scientificness. Frequently mention is made of a merciless skepticism which guided these great founders. Certainly, skepticism was one of their philosophical weapons. "Expose everything to doubt!" was the favorite motto of Marx. But Marxian skepticism was new and different. It was a "controlled skepticism" of science and humanism and not the fatal passion of a hamlet. There is no doubt that the "controlled skepticism" must also control stupidity, baselessness, nonscientificness, complacent and conceited optimism.

At the ceremonial plenum of the Soviet Writers' Union in September this year, K. U. Chernenko stated:

"At present, literature, film and theater frequently turn to complex and contradictory phenomena. And there is nothing miraculous in this. Contradictions are natural and inevitable in the process of the development of a socialist society. Certainly they always influence, in one way or another, the fate of man and become a source of moral clashes. Moreover, the surmounting of these contradictions, even though they are not antagonistic ones, requires a great deal of effort, as well as great civil boldness and principledness. This is the richest food for thought for the reader and for literature to carry out its old mission, that is, to impel society and each man to look at himself more intently and strictly. To help him to always and in every way hold an activist position of the firm fighter for our common cause."

Socialist realism was inspired by such ideas when it raised its new banner. And such ideas inspire us today.

But if realism and revolutionary romanticism are the constructive source for building a new method, they at the same time clearly recognized the importance of optimism as the philosophical pathos of literature. Here is how Lunacharskiy saw this problem:

"There is a certain similarity between Gorkiy and the great French writer Flaubert, but there is also a major difference. Both writers in their own way combined romanticism and realism. But Flaubert, upon dying, was filled with a historical and personal pessimism and felt that the entire world was a stupid absurdity and condemned everything. But Gorkiy lived and elevated himself with a certain much clearer confidence in the historical future and in the victory of mankind."

This was how things appeared in those fiery revolutionary years and that is how things are now.

A writer called Lenin the "Kremlin dreamer." But Lenin himself said that the "false communist is the one who does not know how to dream." Is this rule not valid for today? Is it not characteristic for the very April spirit? With its bold and far-sighted April program, with its moving, stirring, eternally seeking and eternally discovering view, the BCP teaches us to constantly dream and realize the dreams.

### III

On 24 April 1984, at a meeting of the Politburo and Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee with the activ of the scientific and technical unions and the Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria, Comrade Todor Zhivkov called for a "revolutionary change in thinking and in the approach to the tasks of our development." The very thesis had the strength and importance of an unexpected revolutionary breakthrough in our conscience. "Whatever question we pose....," stated Comrade Todor Zhivkov, "it ultimately comes down to one thing, to the necessity of a new revolutionary approach in thinking and action...." "With today's situation, there is no other possibility and indeed cannot be. This is our strategic view and we possess all the conditions for achieving it."

These are words of a fatal nature. We feel their April valence not only because they were said in April, but because they force us to judge the meaning of our lives with the meaning of our times.

The call for a revolutionary approach in thought and action does not apply only to science and technical progress. This appeal is of a global nature and refers to all spheres of life.

As for literature, we are clearly aware that this new theoretical idea is of exceptionally important significance and naturally will be at the epicenter of our congress concerns and thoughts.

First of all, I concur with those who,...after realizing the great importance of the problem of the need for a modern, bold and creative revolutionary type of thinking, emphasize that "along the path to mature socialism and after this

to communism at no stage will there be a social revolution," for this was explained and established by Marx and Lenin.

Also incontrovertible is the irreversibility of the historical process which leads to the elimination of private property. The ideological foundation of our society, the vanguard of human development, is without an alternative. I agree with those who assert that "the thesis of Comrade Todor Zhivkov is related to and derives from the struggle between the new and the old as the driving force of progress in the channel of real socialism." This concept gives us an understanding of the driving, nonantagonistic contradictions in the age of socialism. This is indisputable.

But for us, as writers of April Bulgaria who are obliged not only to state but also to predict, it is not merely enough to concur or even agree with the political, scientific and broad social judgments on the sense and significance of the "Appeal to a New Revolutionary Thinking." We are obliged to realize and express our tasks specifically. What does revolutionary thinking mean for literature and in literature?

Revolutionary thinking is profoundly inherent to Bulgarian literature. Of all its traditions, this is the most important. Of all its traits, this is the main one. But let us not forget that this is also the traditions and spirit of the national liberation and social revolutionary struggle. "This revolutionary thinking is the root, blood and banner of all our literature now. It cannot be mechanically transferred and applied from one age to another, from some conditions to another, from one purpose to another. In literature this can lead to false revolutionary phraseology. To a meaningless pose and tumult. It is a parody of revolutionary thinking. Unfortunately, such examples of pretentiousness and avant-gardism can be found. And it would be lamentable if they continue to replace and compromise true modern, new revolutionary thinking.

April thinking has been and remains an example of bold, innovative, restless, talented, creative revolutionary thinking. It shows again that there is no more revolutionary thinking than Marxist-Leninist.

For this reason, now, this April thinking urges us to a "revolutionary change in approach." Clearly, this is a necessity of the historical stage and of the logic of accelerated development.

Now as for literature, there is a cyclical effect. Static, traditional, ordinary, already conservative thinking has the property, as a certain stage, when innovative, revolutionary thinking is victorious, of rapidly assimilating its success, of assuming its garb, and attempts to utilize it for itself and hence vulgarizes this.

Then, for revolutionary thinking, there is no other way out except to seek a new approach, to make a new turn, because only it can do this.

However, in constantly seeking new horizons and new goals, in constantly seeking the requisite conformity between form and content, revolutionary thinking maintains its constant and unchanging essence.



In focusing on the question of optimism and historical optimism as an age-old feature of Bulgarian literature, we have had precisely this problem in mind, that is, the essence of revolutionary thinking.

Yes, optimism is a constant measure of revolutionary thinking. A decline in the degree of optimistic pathos would be a symptom of the debasing of revolutionary thinking.

Present-day revolutionary thinking is the thinking of revolutionary creation and revolutionary creativity. Do we have the real prerequisites for such thinking? Yes! Because we possess class-party criteria hammered out by our Marxist-Leninist, Blagoev-Dimitrov, April revolutionary party of the Bulgarian proletariat and because historical optimism is not an abstraction but rather the living spirit of our people.

For what is our working class, all our laboring people, its most conscious vanguard, the party of communists presently struggling for? To carry out the boldest, scientifically based, optimistic program for a harmonious society of a harmoniously developing individual, a society which will also function according to the laws of beauty.

This is why we must have revolutionary thinking. In order to liberate ourselves from all that is obsolete and has outlived its times or is alien to our reality. To overcome consumerism, selfishness and base self-satisfaction. Literature must teach us how to hold a progressive position each instance and how to outdo ourselves. And how to be happy in our struggle and creativity. Not the return to what is known but rather the search for the new is what inspires us now!

We are speaking of such revolutionary optimism. An optimism without which man would not dare look to the future, an optimism which is capable of moving us forward, an optimism which is a revolutionary strand of history and art, an optimism the agent of which has been and remains the proletariat, the working class, the communists who are building a new world. It is no question of an abstract optimism. It is a question of our April optimism which is simultaneously both communist and Bulgarian.

#### IV

Can one seek the roots of this optimism in a national history, in a national literature or in a national psychology? Yes, it is possible. This has been done by the writers, politicians and scientists, from Paisiy to Sofroniy, from Rakovski to Botev and Zakhari Stoyanov, to Ivan Khadzhiyski and so up to the present.

Strange and sometimes contradictory views about the Bulgarian have been voiced obviously under the influence of various inspiring or despairing events. In his book about the Bulgarians, Anton Strashimorov has written: "Today the Bulgarian is a nonbeliever in his thoughts. A pessimist credulous in his feeling and ingenuous.... We, the Bulgarians, are born with dark glasses with which we view the world and with which we die...." The political observer

Stoyan Kosturkov thinks precisely the reverse: "The Bulgarian is not a pessimist, he does not view the world through dark glasses, he is not gloomy.... Hope does not abandon the Bulgarian even during the most difficult minutes of his life...."

The ideas of Ivan Khadzhiyski are pertinent and close to our subject: "An optimistic theory about the Bulgarian people at present can be of social significance only to the degree that it is scientific. At present, there cannot be national and social enthusiasm with naive idealization of the Bulgarian people which was done by history since 1762 and the writings of Rakovski.

"Then, in order to be persuasive, this optimistic theory must not remain blind to the facts which provide materials for pessimistic conclusions. On the contrary, in confronting them boldly, it must forge its indisputability in analyzing them."

Our literature is sufficiently ancient to show us the profoundness of the self-awareness of our people. The more deeply the mind and heart penetrate the treasured expanses of Bulgarian literature, the more strongly one is convinced that historical optimism is one of the most vivid ancient traits which characterize it from beginning to end.

Even the Omurtag column posed this problem for us with a magnificent and wise calmness. Cyril and Methodius and their students were immediately compared with rays which penetrated the medieval gloom. Their titanic, historical optimism was founded not so much on Christian belief as on a belief in the divine force of writing, culture and art.

In folk songs and legends, this optimism turns the sufferings of the Bulgarians into their sacred heroics. Precisely this courageous, national historical optimism saves our people from destruction and twice resurrects them from the grave of oblivion.

Paisiy's history startles us as a sudden and inspired explosion of national romanticism and heroic optimism.

A supreme and symbolic example of historical optimism in our people is their legend of Grandfather Ivan with his hope and strong belief in liberation through fraternity among peoples and through love between mankind. Viewed from the eyes of history, this hope is an inspired political vision. Viewed through the eyes of poetry, it is a miracle. And belief always requires miracles.

At times it is forgotten that our present Bulgarian-Soviet friendship incorporates the great wisdom of history, the fine mystery of prediction and realization. This is the historical optimism of the Bulgarian people!

Also infinite was the optimism of our national revolutionaries. They handed this on to all the people as a saving folly. No one could accuse Botev of looking at the world through rose-colored glasses. He disclosed all the misery, suffering, depredation and futility of the Bulgarian people. He pronounced fierce maledictions in order to awaken national self-awareness. But still no one has given us a more tortured, sacred or truer ray of hope:

In this bloody, sinful kingdom,  
A kingdom of baseness, corruption and tears,  
A kingdom of grief--evil--without end!  
The struggle roils and with rapid steps  
Brings us to our sacred end...  
We will cry: "Bread or lead!"

Confronted with a certain death, not only at that crucial moment at Okovchitsa, but constantly, Botev voiced those terrible words which have much greater meaning than those which have won him our affection and gratitude:

He who falls on the field for liberty,  
Does not die. He is mourned  
By land and sky, beast and nature  
And the singers sing his song.

There are very few geniuses, let alone peoples, who have proclaimed their conception of death and immortality. But as we have already said, this is the philosophical heart of the problem of optimism and pessimism. Only a semi-educated mentality could assume that this Bulgarian concept of Botev's was taken ready-made from somewhere.

Since Epicurus who consoled his friend with the opinion that: "Man will never meet death because as long as he exists it does not and when it comes for him, he no longer exists," no one has stated more clearly and poetically the optimistic view that the struggle for freedom (and not any static freedom) is not only the sense of life and the justification of death but also the victory over death in immortality.

Equally inspired is Botev's insight of including nature in the involvement and it ceases to oppose but rather help man doomed to freedom. As for this great optimistic concept of Botev's, it is naive to make a superficial identification between him and his inspired contemporaries and brothers in fate such as Petofi, Yakshtich, Jose Marti and any others. Botev took his concept not from literature but rather from the banner of the revolution, from the commune and from his first light encounter with Marx.

The greatness of Botev and the whole galaxy of revolutionaries armed with cherry-tree cannons and optimism shows its true brilliance when it is put in the context of history and the civilization of those times.

And those were times when after the Paris Commune in the money-mad, quiet Europe the ideas of Schopenhauer, the spiteful prophet of pessimism, had posthumously come into fashion. After all its other orgies, the bourgeoisie gave itself over to the orgy of despair. Not because of any masochistic pleasure. Schopenhauer forced them to look at the sick, the demented and the criminal not in order to see injustice or inequality on which their prosperity was based but rather to assuage them that evil was eternal and infinite. This is how it was and how it would be.

What spiritual greatness our revolutionaries possessed surrounded not by a literary but rather a true despair, in raising the hope of the people above the

blood and terror. Always when I see the shade of Kierkegaard or Schopenhauer and his poodle, I feel in my every cell that optimism is the wealth of the poor and a weapon of those fighting for liberty, advancement and progress.

For many reasons, the newly liberated Bulgaria was unable to properly celebrate the 1200th anniversary of the founding of the state. But this holiday and this assessment we can discover in Ivan Vazov.

His animated creativity was seemingly destined to define the entire range of Bulgarian national optimism. In angry sorrow, in flights of ecstasy, in quiet grief and in tender joy, Vazov's optimism with human kindness and nobility confirmed the beauty of a country and the beauty of its people.

Very soon the national fate of Bulgaria was again exposed to new malevolent testing of its historical optimism. Disappointment, heartbreak and despair overwhelmed us with the catastrophic betrayal of the ideals of our national revolution by the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. That breaking of spirit, that sad plight of an entire generation are shown to us in the creative and human destiny of Peyo Yavorov. It is a terrible path from "To a Pessimist" to the pitch-black "Night." But still the human purity of lyricism and a rebellious longing save and elevate both Yavorov and his literary times from decline.

The war buried the last postliberation illusions. Still it is not quiet sobbing but a bolt of lightning that one finds in the bright faith of Dimcho Debelyanov, who had the strength to write from a muddy and bloody foxhole:

Yet my heart does not grieve,  
The orphan lives near-free,  
And perhaps for consolation  
Death in victory awaits.

With the terrors of the carnage of World War I, history seemed about to confirm the gloomiest conjurings of the pessimists. But another conflagration had burst out, the conflagration of world hope, the conflagration called the Great October Socialist Revolution.

And with good reason the Bulgarian people embraced the path of revolution as a revelation. Along this path it sought new changes in its essence. The flame of this belief gave strength to Khristo Smirnenski, already in the fatal clutches of the pale visitor, to extol the bright tomorrow of the new era.

The Bulgarian writers who disappeared in the flames of the September Revolt and the defeat of 1925 not only remained ultimately faithful to their people and began the world's first armed struggle against fascism. They turned Botev's self-sacrifice into a tradition. They created for us a model of new revolutionary optimism.

Everything written by the philosophers,  
The poets will bring true!

The prophecy of the one-eyed prophet Geo Milev:

September will be May.

Human life

Will be an infinite ascent

Up! Up! The earth will be paradise

It will be!

The atrocities of the fascists were to complete the break which could not be made by the war and the two national catastrophies, they shot down Furnadzhiev's riders and lit the funeral pyres of Raztsvetnikov.

Precisely at that time the ideas and ideals of the BCP brought to the literary forefront an entire phalanx of bold, new, inspired creators who again raised the bright banner of historical optimism.

Lyudmil Stoyanov and Nikolay Khrelkov, Georgi Karaslavov and Mladen Isaev, Khristo Radevski and Angel Todorov, Orlin Vasilev and G'oncho Belev, Todor Genov, Krum Penev and Krum Velkov, St. Ts. Daskalov, Ivan Martinov and others --however we style them, militant or progressive writers of the 1930's--they were creators who devoted themselves to the party, to its struggle and to its belief.

Lead me, Party, lead me

Under your fighting banners!

Shine with your red name

Through thousands of names!

In the eyes of the then bourgeois aesthetes, many of these writers appeared to be writing workers or heavy-handed agitators. But today we see that precisely one of them who was truly a worker, Nikola Vaptsarov, became with his unusual creativity a world measure of poetry of that age, for the present and forever. To a greater or lesser degree, this standard was carried in their hearts by all the fighting comrades of Vaptsarov because this was a standard of Bulgarian literature. Vaptsarov at that time was one of the unknown persons from the factories and offices but his poetic credo was known. A genetic fusion of the tragic, the heroic and the optimistic triumphs in him. At present, there is the concept of "Vaptsarov belief." Subsequent generations have tried to equal it. Those young poets and writers, shining in their senseless boldness, who followed the partisan paths. Those who perished there before realizing themselves as creators, leaving us only the first indication of their talent. And also those, not many, who survived along with victory to show the truthfulness of this talented gift.

From inscriptions in death cells, from their farewell letters and their last requests, this is from where modern Bulgarian literature has learned the rudiments of optimism.

For this reason, for us an optimist does not mean a jovial or happy-go-lucky person, but rather it means a fighter. In the sense in which Marx said that he found happiness in the struggle. Prometheus and Icarus, Botev and Vaptsarov provided our prototype of the optimist and we will not deviate from this glorious following.

We particularly respect and are proud of the writers from the revolutionary generation who are living proof of the succession in the ideas of our literature. Also pleasing is the fact that today standing shoulder-to-shoulder with us and concerned by the same problems the most modern literature is being created by the eternal and holy optimist Elisaveta Gabryana, the member of the September 1923 uprising Mladen Isaev as well as writers from the 1930's, all generations of the creators of the Bulgarian belles lettres, including the youngest.

I would like to assure here, with affection, our older colleagues and teachers in literature that not only is your creativity optimistic, dear comrades. For us your very existence is a source of optimism!

Let us understand, esteem and hold sacred the ideological and creative foundation of modern socialist realist Bulgarian literature as this is not a question of ritual but rather a protracted individual and collective assessment of the hearts, thoughts and goals which we have set and which we are carrying out.

This is particularly imperative this year, when our people are celebrating the jubilee of the 9 September victory.

## V

There are historical events which pass unnoticed and their importance is recognized later. September 9 was a day of liberty and an historic peak which made itself felt. This was one of those truly rare days when an entire people feels and clearly carries out its role in history. The profoundly felt, revolutionary change came about suddenly. Such days truly become symbols of historical optimism. Over decades and entire eras they send us their inspired greetings.

And let our congress with its theme and its excitement be a worthy flower in the nation's wreath of commemoration for the day of Bulgarian freedom.

September 9 was a birthday of a new age. At the same time it opened the way for another miraculous phenomenon which we have called the miracle of revival. As if from oblivion, from a death from which no one returns, from the forgotten, from under the official surface there emerged an entire culture which until yesterday was virtually invisible. Forbidden songs were sung, banned books were republished and new verses were recited. At last, Smirnenski could freely and openly take his place. Geo Milev returned. Suddenly Nikola Vaptsarov appeared as an omen of death turned into immortality.

The Bulgarian writers who had been buried alive emerged from the concentration camps and prisons. The poetic partisans, dead and alive, came down from the mountains. The collection of poems of Veselin Georgiev--now Veselin Andreev--created a new literary concept of "partisan songs."

This was a glorious stage of revolutionary birth and revival. During the time of the people's judgment which dealt out retribution for the victims of fascism, during the acute class clash with the reaction, the opposition and the monarchy, as Mayakovskiy said, the march and slogan emerged in the literary forefront.

But even at this earliest period, certain of the basic ideological thematic areas were beginning to form and these have continued up to the present to characterize the development of the literary process.

An exceptionally important victory in that stage was the active, I would say passionate inclusion of the most talented younger writers in the very beginning of our new, free socialist literature. Pavel Vezhinov, Bogomil Raynov, Andrey Gulyashki, Ivan Peychev, Kamen Kalchev, Vaselein Khanchev, Aleksandur Gerov, Valeri Petrov, Bozhidar Bozhilov, Nevena Stefanova, Radoy Ralin.... How different and how complex are the fates of writers! But their creative torment creates an unique diversity and at the same time a unity of the four literary decades.

It was fortunate for our culture that this was an unusually talented generation which had made its first youthful attempts at the end of the 1930's and the beginning of the 1940's but which evidenced its talents only after 9 September 1944 and up to the present has continued to develop literature with full force and creative maturity.

Even in the first free years, new creators began to arise with new, ideological and thematic impulses of their own.

Such a subject was the Patriotic War in which the Bulgarian writers saw a natural continuation of the revolutionary greatness of the antifascist resistance. This subject has left already as anthology works both the poems of Lamar as well as the "Second Company" of Pavel Vezhinov or the "Verses in a Cartridge Box" of Vaselein Khanchev, "A Soldier's Notebook" of Radoy Ralin and many others.

We could not make a periodization of modern Bulgarian literature in ignoring the basic stages through which the development of society passed. This is particularly important for a literature such as ours which is so vitally linked with the life and fate of its people. Thus, the stage of the political establishing of the new system flowed naturally into the intense and equally dramatic stage of economic reform, the stage of the collectivizing of agriculture and the first socialist industrialization. The constructive, edifying nature of this period left its imprint on the literary process. It can be said that this stage was characterized by the first attempts in all the genres to create a broad-scaled work which showed an already mastered method of socialist realism and at the same time the first attempts to sketch out new people and the spirit of the first builders of socialist Bulgaria.

Certainly at that time there were serious skeptics who said: What new man? Where is such a "new man" to come from when only 5 or 6 years have passed since 9 September?

Repeatedly great writers with amazement confirmed how suddenly a new type of people had appeared. Grandfather Vazov had described this miracle in the following words:

And in several days, secretly and gradually  
The people grow by several centuries!

The entire age after 9 September was characterized and continues to be characterized by an unusual growth of the human personality and the people.

This growth provided an unusual self-awareness for the Bulgarian writers who were the first to attempt to capture and recreate the scale of the new. While the main task at that time continued to be the depiction of the antifascist struggle and the revolutionary heroism of the people, after the historic Fifth Congress of our party the construction of socialism also became such an important task for Bulgarian literature.

Peacetime also brought with it another new and unusual theme, the brigade leader. I do not know whether the existence of such a term will cause a condescending smirk in the present and future younger literary generations. And the question is certainly not one of the terms which reflects the style of its time. But sparks from the fire of the brigade leader romance inhabit the creativity of virtually all writers whose age did not allow them to participate in the armed struggle. The so-called "brigade leader theme" marked a beginning to one of the most important lines in all our literature, the recreation of the labor feat of the Bulgarian people, the recreation of the heroism of the working class. Anticipating his generation by an entire fateful 5 years was the debated, complex and new Pen'o Penev, a poet with a padded jacket who made a talented beginning to the construction theme and who later brought this to great poetic generalizations.

The first who dared attack the contemporary theme and the new creative task were the then younger writers who became established by this. This included St. Ts. Daskalov with his "The Path" (the first volume appeared in 1945) and "One's Land" (1932), Andrey Gulyashki, Kamen Kalchev, Ivan Martinov with "Tales for Anton Belin" and others.

The drama of the revolutionary struggle also sounded quite contemporary. This drama inspired the first talented upsurge of the new Bulgarian theater. The appearance of plays such as "The King's Benevolence" by Kamen Zidarov (1949), "The Interrogation" by Lozin Strelkov (1950), "Love" (1952) and "Happiness" (1954) by Orlin Vasilev and others became cultural holidays.

This period will also remain noteworthy for the publishing of fiction works, primarily novels which already determined the reputation of our socialist classics. This included the tale "The Peach Thief" (1948) by Emiliyan Stanev, the novel "Tobacco" (1951) by Dimitur Dimov, the story "Tango" (1951) and the first volume of the so-called "river-novel" "Ordinary People" (1952) by Georgi Karaslavov, the "Iron Light" (1952) and "Overslept Bells" (1954) from the tetralogy of Dimitur Talev. This was truly an unusual upsurge in Bulgarian literature.

This was unexpected and seemingly our literary arena was unprepared to perceive and assess this immediately. It must be said that there are literary critics who even now are unable to correctly understand the essence of this phenomenon, particularly because this partially coincided with the so-called period of the cult [of personality] which was sterile. It must not be forgotten that such works, particularly the novels, mature over many years and crown a protracted creative path and at times even their writing requires a great deal of time.



This also explains the fact that all of them are not on a theme contemporary with that moment. Nevertheless in some ways they are exceptionally harmonious with the entire 9 September age and they sound contemporary and pertinent today. This pertinence of them lies in their ideological enthusiasm and, let me emphasize strongly, in their powerful historical optimism. These works to the highest degree ensured the continuity of Bulgarian literature from before and after 9 September. As they were the carriers of the party's Dimitrov spirit, they helped our literature in escaping more rapidly and comparatively painlessly from the dogmatic-schematic cult period. They also served as a starting point, as the springboard of the April flourishing.

Under their sign and in their atmosphere the first steps of creativity were taken by the then youngest generation which presently bears the basic burdens and responsibilities of Bulgarian literature. Let me say that I use the word "generation" with all the arbitrariness which it has in literary terminology.

A very important detail in the biography of this generation was the talented inclusion of a group of young writers who had received their education and indoctrination in the Soviet Union, primarily at the Moscow Maksim Gorkiy Literary Institute. Thus was formed a powerful tidal wave which gathered up and raised Georgi Dzhagarov, Dimitur Metodiev, Vlada Dimitrova, Lilyana Stefanova, Ivan Tsvetkov along with Dobri Zhotov, David Ovadiya, Pavel Matev, Ivan Davidkov, Ivan Radoev, Ivaylo Petrov, Serafim Severnyak, Stefan Dichev, Atanas Nakovski, Kliment Tsachev, Orlin Orlinov and many others. This wave became a talented receiver and continuer of the best revolutionary traditions of our literature which, I would say, has raised party inspiration to a new level.

The cult-dogmatic practice, both in social life and in literature, did not succeed in causing organic damage. It was surmounted comparatively quickly and with April decisiveness precisely because our party possessed the necessary historical experience and maturity to handle such deviations from Leninist standards. But let us say very precisely and clearly: because it possessed such a revolutionary vanguard and such a first leader as Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Today we can view as a curious oddity the very idea of the "production theme" and also the pale schematic works engendered by it. At present, we can employ the pompous odes of the cult poetry for our humor programs. Not only because this is the past which cannot return but because ultimately a literature developed on the basis of positive experience but also the negative. In one regard, however, the cult period, as short as it was, caused truly very harmful setbacks. It compromised for a long while the sense and essence of the concept of a positive hero. It created suspicion and even a hostile attitude toward optimistic enthusiasm. From today's viewpoint we can say that at that time the "grey flow" poured into the channel of "historical optimism." But let us develop this idea a little later.

On the basis of these considerations, it seems to me that the cult dogmatic practice in our literature should sooner be defined as a brief negative, already overcome tendency than representing it as an entire and definite period in our literature. This in no way should play down or obscure the greatness and importance of the April change or that unusual flourishing which began with the

historic plenum of our party in April 1956. The time is approaching when we will be celebrating the 30th anniversary of this event.

The years pass and increase our writer and civil duty not only to extol the April spirit but also, as a rule in a talented and precise manner, to point out its true contributions to the treasuretrove of Bulgarian culture.

The April period began with a merciless disclosure of the truth, with an unprecedented self-criticism which no society had ever made in its history or could make. What we term the April spirit is not a blind but rather a scientifically armed, true heroic belief in the forces of the communist ideal, in the forces of man and the people which carry them out.

Our literature, as part of the world socialist realist literature, was given an exceptionally difficult but worthy task of showing this new, higher socialist humanism, in a difficult duel against all vestiges of the old to endure this with the people and confirm it by talent.

The April spirit is the state and property of all our literature, of all genres and all generations. Certainly, the priority of literary facts precisely in the time when they were created is of great importance. But still the very process is the most important.

The April Plenum has come to inhabit and take its historic decisions in each Bulgarian heart. In the same manner its epoch-making guidelines have been experienced by each creator of Bulgarian literature more rapidly and more extensively, not only depending upon the genre but also depending upon personal character and temperament.

This is how we must view that first stage in establishing the April principles and the April inspiration in our literature.

After the April Plenum and already with its inspiration there appeared "Ivan Kondarev" and "Paths to Nowhere," "Two in a New City" and "Rest in Arco Iris" and above all "The Trade Union Resort" of Georgi Dzhagarov, a true drama which became the symbol of those changed times.

In their own way April was experienced by Pavel Vezhinov and Bogomil Raynov, Pantaley Zarev and Blaga Dimitrova, Emil Manov, Todor Genov or Dragomir Asenov, but all generations of Bulgarian writers from Dora Gabe, Elisaveta Bagryana, Nikola Furnadzhiev, Dimitur Penteleev and Atanas Dalchev to the youngest, experienced the inspiring, rejuvenating optimistic strength of the April spirit.

The so-called "April generation" brought forward an enormous charge of new optimism combined with sharp criticism. Both the optimism and the criticism show that they stem from the awareness of that generation, that it was the first generation which has completely grown up and appeared since the 9 September victory, the first generation of freedom. This was greeted by debate and has continued to unceasingly arouse a dispute from extreme excited affirmation to critical doubt of its innovative discoveries. Precisely such a restless, searching inspiration and not age can bring together such a broad spectrum of vivid talents such as Vladimir Bashev and Nikola Khaytov, Slav Khr. Karaslavov

and Yordan Radichkov, Andrey Germanov and Vasil Popov, Nikolay Khristozov and Evtim Evtimov, Gencho Stoev and Tsvetan Stoyanov, Damyan P. Damyanov and Minko Nikolov, Nikola Rusev and Purvan Stefanov, Petur Karaangov and Diko Fuchedzhiev, Vera Mutafchieva and Toncho Zhechev, Marko Ganchev and Lyuben Dilov, Georgi Mishev and Stefan Tsanev, Zdravko Petrov and Ivan Popivanov, Anton Donchev and....

I myself am amazed by this list as it is so long and so incomplete, including such vivid talents and omitting equally as many. I have given up because here it is a question of today's milieu and that means the most active generation. But this is truly an unusual wealth, the powerful potential of modern Bulgarian socialist realist literature.

The April generation has its historical chance and its own drama. The drama is in the fact that many of the enumerated names are names of persons deceased. Time has added to it the so-called "second April wave" and many active creators as Khristo Bankovski, Nikolay Kunchev, Luchezar Elenkov, Stanislav Stratiev, Matey Shopkin, Nedyalko Yordanov, Doncho Tsonchev, Georgi Konstantinov, Boris Khristov, Vanya Petkova and Ekaterina Yosifova.

There already is a definite third and fourth wave where Bin'o Ivanov, Miryana Basheva and Ivan Metodiev are establishing their places. As one can see, here the concept of a generation is extremely arbitrary. Even more arbitrary are those lists of names which the faster they grow the more inaccurate and incomplete they become and which I sincerely despise but feel that they are indispensable.

But the main thing must be brought out. And the main thing is that the April spirit with enormous strength has captured the hearts of all the young talents of Bulgaria.

Here we have brought out only certain ideas on a clear and stable periodization of Bulgarian literature since 9 September 1944 as, unfortunately, we do not possess this. We require this not only as homage to the four decades of freedom, but we need it primarily to disclose the ideological and creative force lines in that field in which a vital literary process is developing.

The stages of social development, the ideas of the times and a dependable assessment of literary facts and phenomena--these are the structure-determining elements in the periodization of Bulgarian literature which remains our great debt and task in coming years.

It seems to me that any future periodization of Bulgarian literature must consider as the first constructive element the assessments which are made by our Marxist and generally progressive criticism in that time when the phenomena were affirmed and only after this compare these with the later views and judgments. That is, the basis for the periodization of Bulgarian literature resides in the creativity of our most prominent literary critics from Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Kirkov through Georgi Bakalov and Todor Pavlov to Georgi Tsanev and Panteley Zarev.

But no periodization of Bulgarian literature can ignore the truth, that it was and will be a literature of historical optimism.

## VI

When we assert that Bulgarian literature during the years between the Fourth and Fifth Congress of the Writers' Union has developed successfully in the true and ascending April direction, we are aware that these successes reflect the trends of the entire April period and certain specific results are owed to the very essence of our socialist society and its culture.

Precisely during its April period, Bulgarian literature has eliminated that national isolation and that discrepancy with the degree of development in world literature which was the heritage of many centuries of political and cultural slavery.

At present, Bulgarian literature is armed with the most modern stylistic artistic means, it possesses a high genre and internal genre diversity, it keeps in pace with all that is the most progressive in the world literary process and itself influences this.

In recent years, our fiction has been going through a new peak moment of creative ascent. Our mature fiction writers and particularly novelists have come out with some of their best books: Pavel Vezhinov with his last merciless "Scales," Bogomil Raynbov with his "Magic Lantern," "Three Recluses" or "The Secret," books heavy with a balance of creative experience and maturity, Andrey Gulyashki with his optimistic "The Tramp Wanders the World" and Kamen Kalchev with "Maria's Song."

A contribution to the ascent of prose has also been made by the following: the first part of "The Wolf Hunting Party" by Ivaylo Petrov, "Cold Estrangement" of Diko Fuchedzhiev, "The Ultimate Sin" of Gercho Atanasov, "Catastrophe" of Atanas Nakovski, as well as a number of works by our youngest prose writers among which is the trilogy of Vladimir Zarev.

Our April literary debates have affirmed as a positive phenomenon the successes of our nonfiction such as "The Brigade" of Veselin Andreev, "Recollections of an Old House" and "Recollections of a Summer" of Vladimir Golev, "The Garrison Firing Range" of Nikolay Khristozov and others.

Historical prose has provided us with vivid works such as the two books of "The Tale of Khan Asparukh" by Anton Donchev, "Jane" of Kostadin Kyulyumov, "In the Days of King Ivaylo" by Slav Khr. Karaslavov, "An Impossible Image" by Vera Mutafchieva and others.

In the shorter fiction forms, new talented books have appeared by Yordan Radichkov, Doncho Tsonchev, Georgi Mishev, Rosen Bosev, Yanko Stanoev and others.

Modern Bulgarian poetry has also persuasively defended its civil activeness and artistic renown. Three collections of "April Hearts" have received strong social recognition and are a categorical proof of the vitality of party inspiration and the militancy of our poetry as well as the ideological and creative

unity of Bulgarian writers. The collections of verse which have shown the ascending development of their authors and our poetry have brought forth Dora Gabe with her posthumous greetings "The World Is a Secret," Elisaveta Bagryana with "On the Shore of Time," Mladen Isaev with "Starry Instants," Venko Markovski with "Cherished Legends" and "Free Martyrs," Pavel Matev with "Summoned From the Happy Abysses," Dimitur Panteleev with "The Last Bus," Dimitur Metodiev with "A Sweet Smell," Vladimir Golev with "The Thief of Instants," Lilyana Stafanova with "After Midnight," Ivan Davidkov with "A Bird's Eye," Stanka Pencheva with "Diggings," Atastas Stoyanov with "More Than Love," Evtim Evtimov with "The Mountain," Damyan Damyanov with "The Open Circle," Luchezar Elenkov with "A Midnight Pain" and "September Poem," Matey Shopkin with "To the Second Trumpet," Petur Anastasov with "How I Love You," Georgi Konstantinov with "The Sociable Recluse," Nikolay Kunchev with "The Night Watch of Dawn," Boris Khristov with "An Honest Cross," as well as many by our youngest poets.

Recently the National Review of Theater and Drama was successfully concluded and the SBP took a most active part in this by tradition.

A general review must emphasize a positive development in Bulgarian drama. Here we can be pleased by the unusual creative activity of all generations and we have witnessed many interesting dramatic debuts. Some were even given awards. The merited success of Nikolay Khaytov and Nedyalko Yordanov, of Stanislav Stratiev and Milko Milkov, Petur Anastasov and Kalin Donkov please us most because this has been achieved on a general trend in our drama, that is, to turn toward modern subjects, to recreate bold, life-affirming heroes and to inspire us with optimistic inspiration even when this has passed through the purgatory of tears.

In outlining the development of our literature, we must recognize that a major contribution to its accomplishments has been made by artistic journalism, by creativity which we might define as humor and satire and lastly, but not in terms of importance, the literature for children and youth.

In the area of artistic journalism and current affairs, Veselin Yosifov and Nikolay Khaytov, Serafim Severnyak and Stefan Prodev, and in essence most of our most mature writers continue to create on a high ideological and artistic level. The growing interest in this genre is natural and pleasing. A good example of this is provided us by the book "From Botev to Botev" by Georgi Dzhagarov.

It is said that both for a person as well as for a literature the loss of a sense of humor is a bad symptom. For this reason, we are pleased by the successful appearances with which writers such as Radoy Ralin and Petur Nezankomov, Gencho Uzunov and Miron Ivanov, Marko Ganchev and Khristo Pelitev and a whole phalanx of younger satirists have defended their sharp talent.

The successes of our children's and young person's literature must be assessed in the context of the rapidly growing demands of the "Peace Banner" Movement and the International Children's Ensemble which preserve, disseminate and develop the ideas of Lyudmila Zhivkova on the evocation of the creative principle in man.

New, pure and vivid works for children and young persons in various genres have been supplied us by Asen Bosev and Valeri Petrov, Leda Mileva and Nikolay Zidarov, Ivan Arzhentinski, Luchezar Stanchev and Georgi Strumski up to the youngest such as Ivan Golev.

Recent years, lastly, have brought us an unusual and pleasing revival of the critical front. The April literary discussions are undoubtedly most responsible for this. Also important was the plenum of the Committee for Culture where literature was the main character. Much was contributed to the revival by such events as the meeting between Bulgarian and Soviet critics headed by Vitaliy Ozerov, the conference on socialist realism and so forth.

And if the desired reorganization had not been ultimately achieved, we still are obliged to point out that our criticism has freed itself of certain of its old failings and is improving. It has overcome the anachronistic disputes which diverted it to already past stages of development, turning precisely to modern subjects, to life-affirming heroes and to a new and pertinent interpretation of the problems of socialist realism.

In this stabilizing of literary criticism of definite importance are certain new fundamental works by Panteley Zarev, particularly his "Theory of Literature," as well as his new psychology of the people, the works by Efrem Karanfilov, Pencho Danchev, Petur Pondev, Ivan Ruzh and others. Our day-to-day criticism has also become more active, its importance in our literary life has increased. Here standing side by side with the critics of the middle generation such as Natasha Manolova, Ivan Popivanov, Zdravko Petrov, Ivan Tsvetkov, Vasil Kolevski, Toncho Zhechev, Mikhail Vasilev, Chavdar Dobrev, Ivan Spasov, Lyuben Georgiev, Atanas Svilenov and others, are the younger critics who are making themselves heard. They are intelligent and talented and are free of inherited passions and contradictions of the former literary groupings. We consider the ability of our criticism to rejuvenate as an important success and a dependable prospect.

This very general picture of the trends in our modern literature has been brought out on the basis of the objective assessments formulated by collective critical forums. It does not aim at inventorying all literary successes. Let me repeat again that such a detailed description will be given in the reports on actual activities. Our aim has been primarily to see the fate of historical optimism as a birthmark of Bulgarian literature. The picture is an optimistic one not because we are seeking optimism in it but because this really exists as the main element of the literary process.

The presence of real weaknesses and of creative failures cannot obviate the sense of this general conclusion.

What are these negative phenomena? What facts arouse our concern?

The National Party Conference posed the quality problem as a central focus which brings together all the crucial questions of today and tomorrow. Our party and its Central Committee have again shown the ability to bring out the main element which carries the basic trend and through which an entire chain of problems can be drawn out.

Poor quality in literature long ago received the popular name of "grey flow." What is the situation with this flow, has it been mastered or has it escaped? Those who feel that the grey flow is growing usually turn to certain quantitative indicators. Let us see what they are.

Bulgarian bibliography persuades us that over the period from 1981 to 1984, that is, during the last 4 years, Bulgaria has published 1,443 new literary works as individual books. This means 360 books a year are considered as new Bulgarian artistic literature. Confronted with such impressive figures, we undoubtedly must answer the question: is it possible to create and publish each new day of the year one talented new literary work? The answer can only be no! This is absurd! But then why do they appear? Who edits them and who approves them? Who publishes them and why?

Let me attempt to answer these questions by making a cursory review outside the figures.

The situation for fiction works is truly strange. In the 4 years we have published 763 such books of which 389 belong to authors who are not members of the SBP while only 374 have come out under the pen of the SBP members.

For the collections of poetry, the situation is little different. Here over the 4 years, around 461 books have been published. But the ratio is the reverse with 268 belonging to members of the SBP (67 annually) while 193 collections of verses have been written by nonmembers of the SBP. Allow me to say that this ratio seems more natural to me. Since poetry is the offspring of the spiritual and physical youth of man and the relative share of younger authors must be greater than in the other genres. This is also related to the increased interest shown by the SBP in recent years to the problems of the young.

Lastly, let us look at criticism as well. Over the last 4 years, 209 books of a literary critical nature have been published. More than one-half (112) has come out under the pen of critics who do not belong to the SBP. Without making any rapid generalization, we still must admit that this leads us to a conclusion that literary critical assessments far from always are formed in and by the SBP.

The general conclusion arises that almost one-half of the books which defend the new Bulgarian literature are not the work of members of the SBP and are not monitored by the SBP. We are far from thinking that the "grey flow" is the reserve of just this second half. We do not divide authors into members and nonmembers but rather into authors who have written talented books and authors who have written weak books. Talented books always have been and always will be a minority. It is important not to poison the literary atmosphere with irresponsible and weak books which can be published without obstacle.

This is an even greater and more important problem for the editorial boards and editors of modern Bulgarian literature and for the responsibility of these "work" areas of ours.

The "grey flow" is not only a problem of artistic insufficiency. It is primarily a problem of ideological and creative inferiority. But since every reader

more or less wades in this flow and recognizes it, it is not difficult to note certain changes in this.

There was a time when the "grey flow" was characterized chiefly by pat, bombastic, trouble-free, saccharine routines, in other words, the "grey flow" was clothed in optimistic raiment.

At present, the "grey flow" both in poetry and nonfiction flows chiefly in the bed of pessimistic routine. Whimpering and grumbling are recommended to us as good tone. A lack of ideological content and a sense of futility are presented to us as the latest fashion. Where does this pessimistic routine come from? Possibly from the time when our literature was surmounting the reverse deviation, a pseudo-optimistic stamp. Possibly from the desire to be critical without understanding life with its truths and with its trends? Or from a search for the reasons for one's own creative failure in society? Whatever the situation, the eternal and common feature of the "grey flow" was that it is the offspring of a lack of talent.

With chagrin and a feeling of self-criticalness, it must be admitted that our literature, while developing socialist democracy, has at times played down its resisting force in the struggle against a lack of talent. And as the weed is faster and more tenacious than the ear of wheat, so a lack of talent has greater penetrating force. As for striving for literature, a lack of talent begins to teach us morality and hand down verdicts. It must be well recognized that a compromise with militant talentlessness is not only an aesthetic compromise but also a moral and political one. There is no doubt that our literature will handle the provocations of mediocrity.

## VII

If with all its weaknesses, Bulgarian literature has developed successfully and ascendingly in the April spirit, if its old political backbone holds it proud and straight, what are our grounds and our arguments for posing such a serious problem of historical optimism before our congress? Certainly, not only to carry out a check which will conclude with pleasant statements. As we have already seen, we have no justification for complacency and self-satisfaction.

Yes, we do have more serious grounds for being concerned with the problem of optimism. Because it has not been posed by us but rather by our times. It confronts not only us but all mankind today.

The entire course of world historical events has shown that a fatal moment has arrived in the general confrontation between the world of capital and the world of socialism. The forces appear equal. Mention is made of military-strategic parity. And it is pure human hope, a belief in the future and an optimism which assume fatal significance because they are not produced in laboratories and plants of the military-industrial complex. Because there can be no parity between optimism and pessimism.

The accelerated and accelerating evolution in all spheres of life, the "acceleration," as the scientists say, in and of themselves confirm an optimistic view and belief in the good sense in scientific and spiritual progress. However,



at the same time, this accelerating evolution had led to dangerous contradictions between the types of human and social awareness which are on different levels of development and are estranged or alienated from one another.

When science mastered atomic energy and imperialism turned it into the atomic bomb and when this monstrous bomb was dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by American flying fortresses carrying the fond names of the pilots' mothers, it is said that the great Albert Einstein, in learning of the explosions, burst into tears with a feeling of personal blame. "Mankind is not ready for this discovery!" he said. "At present, mankind is like a young child who has been given an open razor as a toy...." Einstein's metaphor is terrifying because it is true.

The enormous potential of nuclear death carried by the most accurate modern missiles create a real threat of the complete annihilation of human civilization and possibly life on the planet earth. And when this is the weapon of imperialism, when these weapons defend human exploitation and injustice and seek to halt progress, they become a world source of pessimism and hopelessness, of mistrust in the sense of human history and mistrust in man himself. Even if this pessimism is not overt and aggressive but concealed under the form of apoliticalness and idleness, the result remains the same, the enormous loss of man's faith, the impotence of the peoples and the senselessness of the future.

At such an historical moment, optimism gains a new sense, a new meaning. The old, simple Vaptsarov's "belief in goodness and man" has not ceased to be sacred for us. But it is no longer sufficient to sustain this man in the colossal provocation of death and despair.

An awareness of the essence and the necessity for a new, self-negating, effective, unifying human optimism became a miraculous impetus at the Sofia writers' meetings which established a world writers' movement for peace under the motto "Peace--The Hope of the World." The Fifth World Writers' Meeting, which was most successful and most impressive in its results, is still quite fresh in our minds. The world and our views of it are known. We will not use this congress to praise and extol the activities of the SBP at it.

For us it is more important to realize and emphasize that this world literary event became possible as a part of the miracle of April Bulgaria and due to the nature of Bulgarian literature, a socialist realist, highly humane literature of historical optimism. Only such a literature and its creators can really fight for the hopes of mankind.

This is why the problem of optimistic enthusiasm in our literature is not its internal, sovereign problem. This is an enormous problem of a general national and human scale. We require optimism as a belief in the tomorrow of man, as a language in which it is possible to speak of the future and as the heroics of a life-affirming individual. A mature optimistic view is essential for us as a basic creative weapon without which we cannot carry out our human and writers' duty.

The problem of historical optimism has numerous aspects. It truly is universal. During our so-short human life, we have witnessed the unbelievable polluting and

more precisely the destruction of the environment. As the rain and the "hundred stone" can no longer provide us with the necessary drinking water to quench the growing thirst of mankind. The forests and oceans are unable to replace the oxygen and ozone which has been consumed by our modern equipment.

As if before our very eyes, nature is dying and it gave birth to man, it provided his spirit and gave him a view of the beautiful and the terrible, good and evil. And man no longer combats nature, as he did for these many millenia, but for the first time is wondering how to help and save nature. Because, if this living natural environment were to perish and be replaced by intelligent equipment, would man as we know him as we are continue to exist? This is what is said by the neomalthusian speakers who predict that the demographic explosion is much more terrible than a nuclear one. The predicting of the Apocalypse, that is, the end of the world, has been raised as a universal bug-bear, although according to the sacred writings, the Apocalypse was not universal death but the moving from one state to another. We cannot help but realize that all of this is new, monstrous and quite real sources of world pessimism, that eternal ideology of a dying class. And this pessimism is a spiritual corruption which crawls into the heart of our belief and seeks to extinguish hope.

This is why we have raised the problem of historical optimism. Because it shows us the duty of a writer to provide a human alternative to the gloomy predictions and to save by their creativity that light which leads us to the future. Let us call this future by its true name, communism. By the force of art and by the force of dreams, we will be given an image of that future as a future of a free man, as a future of harmonious relations, as a future of the beautiful and as a future of creativity.

This duty of a writer is a great and irrevocable one. There is no one else to complete this work of ours. The giddy scientific and technical revolution during the 20th Century and particularly in its second half has led to a fantastically rapid realization of the dreams and Utopias which mankind gave birth to and foretold over the centuries and millenia. It is as if science realizes the dream. It is as if for the first time mankind is left without his fine dreams and enticing great Utopias. The island of Utopia is a resort area and there are no other undiscovered islands on the map. Prometheus works at a Nuclear Power Plant. Icarus is flying ever-farther between the stars....

Scientific fantasy [science fiction] which is becoming an evermore widespread literary genre and where we have, as Lyuben Dilov would say, our own successes which we ourselves do not appreciate, this science fiction literature has flourished predominantly on the basis of scientific prediction and describes for us predominantly the technology of the future.

And the future as a state of spirit, as a way of life and relationships between people, this future confronts us as more impenetrable than it was.

Recently, in a sharp debate between physicists, information scientists and writers in the Belgian city of Liege, a well-known cybernetician was asked: Well, what will the omnipotent, thinking machines foreseen by you be able to do, do you think that they will even be able to write verses? The scientist thought and answered me: They will not be able to believe and they will not be able to love.

And I agree with him. No one will ever replace man with his greatest mission of loving and believing. And this is the basic sense of art and literature.

This is our duty as a writer and which urges us to creativity armed with historical optimism, from the positive hero to positive decisions, from a correct and talented recreated reality to the shining horizon of hopes and dreams.

Does our literature have the real prerequisites and capabilities to pose such a problem and such a task? Yes! Decisively yes!

A real prerequisite is the April policy of our party, this is the program of our party, this is a bold and realistic prospect created by a feeling foresight for the development of Bulgarian society, our economy and our culture.

In the sphere of culture and art, bold, original and farsighted views have been bequeathed us by Lyudmila Zhivkova. This is an enormous treasurehouse which respects all world culture and is for us, the writers, an important potential for new creativity.

The Politburo of our party's Central Committee recently heard and adopted the developments of the ideas of Lyudmila Zhivkova concerning the study and utilization of the enormous possibilities which are found in the human brain. This is not only the possibilities of scientific thought but are also the undisclosed opportunities of artistic creativity and literature.

We are happy and proud that our party, that our socialist society look boldly, confidently and optimistically to the future, that our concepts of the future are based not only on the development of thinking equipment but primarily on the development of the well-rounded and harmonious individual and the belief in its inexhaustible opportunities.

In his speech "A Great Day of Bulgaria," Comrade Todor Zhivkov with inspiration stated:

"In casting our glance at tomorrow, we see a Bulgaria of mature socialism. It has mastered the accomplishments of the scientific and technical revolution; it has sharply increased the material and cultural wealth of the country and the standard of living of the people; with renewed force, it has unleashed the talent and creative capabilities of the people. This is how we see tomorrow's socialist Bulgaria under the conditions of a lasting peace in the world, in a fraternal unity with the other socialist countries and under conditions of good neighborliness and collaboration. A Bulgaria marching in the first ranks of mankind and making its contribution to affirm its centuries-old strivings for liberty, fraternity, equality, happiness and peace. We will spare not a single drop of our energies for this Bulgaria moving toward communism."

With our communist belief in the future, with our affection for man and his fineness, we will carry out our writers' duty to the party, to the people and to the common human communist ideal.

Statements by Various Writers

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[Text] Kamen Kalchev:

The Fifth Congress of our Union is an important event in the cultural life of our country. Over a period of 4 years, enormous creative and sociopolitical activities have been carried out and these have been widely commented on in our nation and abroad. This in and of itself obliges us to make a profound and frank assessment of what has been accomplished as well as of the problems and trends in our creativity.

I would hurry to say that these problems and trends should not be examined and interpreted in isolation, that is, just within the time between the two congresses. This would be both incorrect and inaccurate. Because literature is a living, ongoing process which is in a profound dialectical relationship with the great, complex and dynamic changes of life and our developed socialist society. What has been accomplished by Bulgarian writers between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses has been closely tied to what was done in the previous years and what must be done in the near future.

The Fifth Congress can with justification report to the party and the people that this basic trend, as a subject and problem, has been carried out satisfactorily in the basic areas. There have been works of all genres: poetry, prose and drama which evermore profoundly delve into the ideological, moral-ethical and philosophical problems of modern socialist society. We have merely to recall the April literary debates which over a period of several years made a profound analysis of our accomplishments and weaknesses, tracing the paths of further ascent for our socialist literature. Moved into the literary press, these discussions waged, although not always with the necessary competence, an implacable struggle for a communist focus in our literature; for bringing to the forefront the role and importance of the positive hero; for defending the moral principles of socialism; for raising--not lastly--the high criteria of artistic creativity; for creating our own socialist classics. Here particularly beneficial was the appeal of the party and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally for high quality as an indispensable law of development. We are endeavoring, to the degree that our forces allow, to carry out these high party demands both as an Union and as creative persons.

We flatter ourselves in thinking that in this regard our Committee on the Modern Question has taken an active part. From the Union's report, we can see how much has been done! We have been guided in our work by specially elaborated theses on the effective and fruitful focusing of the writers on modern problems without interfering in their creative freedom, in their creative preferences and in their personal writer's style. Our commission has reviewed the creative requests of numerous writers, more than a hundred persons. This is in no way a small figure even when broken down within the four report years. More than 100 different creative individuals were spoken with, we heard their plans and their desire to be more closely connected to certain construction projects, checks were made in the process of their work and we heard tales of the difficulties they encountered in their work. But still in the interests of truth

it must be said that the times and demands of life require that the future leadership of the Writers' Union give some thought to establishing a new ideological and creative structure for the future functioning of this commission. Practical, organizational measures must also be thought out in order to avoid routine, inertia and rote in its future work.

I cannot help but mention the enormous organizational and social work which was done by the Union during the report period. These activities, sometimes visible and sometimes invisible, for most of the Union members are a routine which is taken for granted and which merits our gratitude both toward the Union's chairman and to the daily, constant dogged work of the Union Secretariat, its Bureau and Administrative Council. Along with creativity which will always remain in first place as the main aspect of our work, the social and civil involvement of each of us and the Writers' Union as a whole will shape our future activities.

In reporting our accomplishments in the previous period, the Fifth Congress must note, certainly, the realistic program for the further flourishing of our socialist literature. As we have already said, standing in the number-one position in this program is the image of our contemporary, the carrier of the most advanced trends of our age, the trends of socialism and communism; the image of our contemporary as the embodiment of historical optimism as the carrier of everything good which is found in our great teachings.

From the heights of this ideological and artistic position, we must continue our further creative, cultural work. In this are rooted our optimism, our great hope for the further flourishing of our socialist literature.

Georgi Konstantinov:

The basic theme of the congress report, like the main area of our concerns and thoughts in this auditorium, have been expressed in the words: "the literature of historical optimism." One could scarcely find a more suitable subject which so brings together and analyzes all our creative efforts during these years. The speaker has already emphasized that in its best manifestations our modern literature has nothing in common with a banal interpretation of optimism or with the artificial and superficial "cheerfulness" of the written word. No contemporary of ours has been made immune to mental pain and sudden fear, to selfishness, sadness or despair. These are human things and it is the duty of every worthy writer not to close his eyes to them, just as he has no right to imagine them or make them more important than they are. To always speak the truth, to inspire humane ideas and affirm the communist ideal in life--this is how we see the humane role of our contemporary literature both on the personal and social level. This is both for today and on the historical scale. Yes, it is a question of the artistic realization of optimism. An optimism the pulse of which wells from the very heart of our life, from the very essence of our socialist society.

Certainly, our contemporary literature does not consist solely of profound and complex works. It has both its highs and lows. Just during the last three decades we have been given the accomplishments of Dimitur Talev and Georgi

Karaslavov, Dimitur Dimov and Emiliyan Stanev, Atanas Dalchev and Pavel Vezhinov, Veselin Khanchev and Pen'o Penev, Dora Gabe and Bladimir Bashev.... Highs which, let us add, will be appreciated by future generations. This hope is also a part of our historical optimism.

Mention above has been made of the reader and his criteria. And I, like a majority of our writers, without underestimating in any way the work of our literary critic, hold in high regard the so-called "ordinary" reader.

In addition to the new economic and spiritual problems which are being resolved by modern man, he is also confronted by a number of age-old questions which concerned even the ancient Egyptians or the first materialist philosophers. And this in an age of the scientific revolution, when there are already human footprints on the moon, while a score thermonuclear bombs could turn the terrestrial landscape into a lunar one. Not everything is in the hands of the ordinary man and his belief in the future has been tempered in many testings. But still this man in just several decades has created the miracle of modern April Bulgaria. A Bulgarian writer of today cannot help but consider the increased ideological and artistic demands of his readers, their rich political, technical and cultural information or their sometimes amazing refined literary taste. I feel that just as the writer seeks inspiration and support for his literary creativity in life so the reader wants to find in our literary life of today a life that is true and not counterfeit, free from literary schemes and accidental theses, created out of personal concerns and thoughts and made meaningful by the generally accepted truths for our present-day life.

In addition to a masterful possession of the word, today's creator needs a penetrating, analytical view of the world, or, to put it another way, an engineer's flair for the contemporary word, for that which is new, promising in our life and for that which is morally obsolete. Undoubtedly the new impulses of our times require new forms of image and without them it would be hard for us to achieve the desired creative heights.

In essence we are speaking about the reader, lest we forget that all of us, people of the pen, are a large degree also readers, not only out of our love of books generally but also out of professional interest or by our duties as editors.

Have we succeeded in promptly spotting a vivid work and categorically giving it our recommendation? Have we perceived the basic patterns in the development of our literature as a whole?...such questions are not easy but I feel that we have answered them repeatedly in a clear, objective and conscientious manner, particularly during our annual April discussions the holding of which has come to be weighted for as a creative event for all of us and for all our cultural life.

In the detailed report of the Union as well as in the speech, numerous titles have been mentioned of vivid, successful works published during these 4 years. It is impossible to take these up in a brief statement. I will merely mention that I am pleased by this creative succession between the various generations, from our generally recognized masters of the artistic word to the youngest poets, novelists, critics and dramatists.

Let me merely disagree with a frequently used expression: "The young are taking over the literary baton" a definition taken from the area of sports and according to which, as we know, the runner carrying the baton halts out of breath while the other competitor continues on with fresh forces.... How many of our writers whose literary start was made somewhere between the two world wars are continuing to set an example for us of creative optimism, civil concern, unflagging artisticness and inexhaustible spiritual strength....

And let us, the younger, take from them not a competitive baton, but their noble, creative example, their creative total dedication and their loyalty to the cause of the party and the people.

Atanas Nakovski:

A gravitation toward the positive hero--both in life and in art--has always existed. Maybe we should take a look at what is concealed behind this infatuation? In folk creativity, the positive hero, the youth, is the one who punishes or mocks the evil doer and conquers evil in its various transformations and manifestations. In their creativity the people have turned the positive hero into a weapon and means of defense.

Victory over evil is essentially a victory over chaos and the absurd. The struggle against evil gives life a goal which far surpasses vegetating. Man has always feared death but it has always existed and cannot be vanquished. Through victories over various living agents of evil, however, the thought of it becomes more bearable and life itself becomes reasonable while reasoning itself is nothing more than the creation of conditions for further self-realization.

Certainly in contemporary life things appear quite differently and the creation of a positive hero is a more difficult job while the difficulties which he must overcome, that is, evil which must be vanquished, is also more multifaceted and does not always have the definite traits of an evil doer, a serpent, a dragon and so forth. And how frequently this is within ourselves! And for this reason all the more treacherous and dangerous! Yes, our working day is without firing and without spectacular, noisy engagements but how frequently and how dangerously this attacks conscience, character and belief, and how often self-respect and dignity must be defended at the price of a heart attack? What about routine? What about inertia? And how often the people who surround us are not true but rather masks and their unmasking is far from so easy!

Cherished and essential, in spite of the fact that the positive hero does not always find it easy in life. The agent of the new, he often frightens and encounters misunderstanding. He is hindered by many, by those who wish to live calmly and without stress and they unfortunately are in the majority, the profiteers and accommodators. He is implacable against the Philistine elements of living hand to mouth, against the consumers and antisocial schemers and for this reason he is not always pleasant and sometimes is even unloved in certain circles, and he has enemies although in most instances they do not wage an outright struggle against him and because of this they are more dangerous. The positive hero is profoundly antipetty-bourgeois and is clearly in the social vanguard. This is his social essence and hence both the moral and spiritual

essence. The vital question is to justly bring out this essence to reach its real source which is not a communicating vessel but rather an intrinsic source with its own water system in the system of society.

Is it possible to create such a hero, if the author has not shown firmness, if he is not unyielding to the blandishments of the routine which often are capable of rendering senseless many of our best intentions? If the author does not profess the viewpoint of his hero? If he is inconsistent, if in the work the same tenacity is not shown in defending his own positions as the hero created by him shows? When it is a question of the positive hero, it is clear that between the author and the hero there must be a compatibility and a reciprocal involvement, but in no instance should there be compassion for the hero, an inclination to give relief to his life or help him in his job. This, I am confident, can be the securest way to failure in creating his image and what we will have is something which will not even convince its creator. Although it has scarcely been mentioned today, there must also be talent which creates these things in their inseparable relationship and depicts them in the most fortuitous form.

A literature will carry out its purpose and will be truly democratic, closest to life and to its inimitable complexity only if among the tasks set for it a modern positive hero will more and more successfully be realized. A noble purpose and an even more noble task. In this context it must be emphasized that in Bulgarian literature the positive hero not only exists but that he has always been the dominant hero.

Matey Shopkin:

Everyone knows the verse "My Songs" of Ivan Vazov which end as follows:

Here lives the response of the people's soul,  
It does not die and as long as the heart beats  
From grief and joy in our free land,  
My songs will still be sung.

How, in 1913, did this unparalleled poetic confession sound? This is a superfluous question. Because we, the new generations of the Bulgaria beloved and extolled by Grandfather Vazov, are perfectly aware that the test of time has confirmed the proud self-judgment of this great Bulgarian who if still living would be called the patriarch of Bulgarian literature.

Let me mention the words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov: "In the person of our poets and writers, our people have always had faithful offspring, their spiritual support, their conscience, their voice and their colors."

There is a significant symbol in the fact that the names of virtually all the major Bulgarian writers have been placed on perpetual guard in front of the building of our creative union.

At the same time, in my memory there ring the names of many who are present in this auditorium and who have long since become the favorite writers of the people, the worthy fighters of party truth and strong pillars of the Bulgarian



spirit. For this reason, their creative works are essential as the daily bread of the ordinary people from the field and factory, from the scientific laboratory or the military range. Here with pride and joy I would like to say that our people esteem their writers and believe in their words.

In recent months I had an opportunity again to touch the springs of this crystal-clear affection of the people for their poets. This happened in Pravets, in Sofia okrug, at the Poetry Holiday. This also happened in Sofia, in Blagoevgrad and in Banko during ceremonies on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Nikola Vaptsarov. This happened in Byala Slatina at an evening on the occasion of the 90th birthday of Nikolay Khrelkov. This also happened in Troyan where the 60th anniversary was celebrated of the partisan poet Toncho Staevski.... I am convinced that all of us could mention another meeting which was fortunate in this blessed affection of the people.

But what about our response!

During the report period hundreds of poetry books were published, books with new and selected verses, anthologies, collections, pamphlets and the first collections of young authors.

But when I say that in our poetry the poetic sources have not dried up, when I stress the expressions of hard work and constant zeal, I cannot skip the names of such poets as Elisaveta Bagryana, Mladen Isaev, Khristo Radevski, Krum Penev, Dimitur Panteleev, Angel Todorov, Ivan Milchev, Aleksandur Muratov, Virineya Vikhra, Paulina Stancheva, Venko Markovski, Ivan Burin.... And just a month ago, on the pages of LITERATUREN FRONT, the 87-year-old poet, Georgi Karaivanov, delighted us with a cycle of new verses.

Having lived through the embers of the stormy years, fierce battles and crucial events, with whitened hair and wrinkled brows, these older poets continue to have a young and unbroken spirit. To a large degree they also determine the basic traits of modern Bulgarian poetry. These basic traits disclose an intimate, confessional tone, a cherished dialogue with the reader and a desire to delve into the complex depths of the human heart and soul. At the same time, the most burning problems of our times bulk large in poetry, that is, the problem of peace, of the real threat of thermonuclear death, of love for the motherland, for the land of Lenin, and of loyalty to socialist internationalism. The stirrings of our contemporary are collected in Bulgarian poetry as in an enormous focus.

Yordan Radichkov:

I have taken the floor here in order to express my concern for the Bulgarian book. The Bulgarian book has passed through fire and water, it has been scorched by time and full of wounds, just as all our history has been scorched and full of wounds. At the same time, it is also exceptionally delicate even though its heart has at times been full of the blues. Across its pages rumble the iron wheels of the cherrywood guns, just as these pages have been engulfed by such heavy silence that it seems you can hear the human heart beat.

But my concern is not for these books. My thoughts are about the modern Bulgarian book. We have noted how in recent years the modern Bulgarian book has begun to change its character. It has adapted to the new conditions of life like a jackal who in our lands has taken the place of the wolf. Conditions change and hence the book begins to change, adapting itself to them. This is because the book wants to survive. In nature this phenomenon is something ordinary as in nature that which succeeds in adapting is able to survive. The other perishes.... And hence, the book has promptly begun to manifest its quickness of wit and to adapt to the changing conditions. Thus, day by day and little by little the money-making book appears on the book market.

Up to now books were either good or weak. Now to these definitions we must also add the money-making book, the book which brings a good profit. It is becoming something of a goose that laid the golden egg both for its creator and for its publisher. In each Bulgarian publishing house, this money-making book has been well received, it is like the most personal guest.

At the same time that the money-making book is becoming more and more a massed phenomenon, the classics and great books which even time dreaded moved to the background. Since then books with little lasting artistic value have been the moving books. Generally, the impermanent has begun to acquire a particular value in our lives. I find this dangerous.

I also find alarming the fact that we, the writers, have begun to play up to the reader and we want him to inevitably be amused by our books. This is simply our playing up and amusing!...our playing up and amusing will not lead us to a good end!...we have begun to look at the demand of the book market enough.

When I read such books (some have been written very hurriedly), I ask myself: what are my associates like and what are their reasons for writing such books? What are they professing and how do they profess to us, the readers, do they truly feel any pain or do they merely feign such pain? I have read many books and I must admit that in them I have not found a single trace of pain or a wound, even a trace of the slightest cut even if this cut occurred out of negligence....

It is true that in recent years good books have been written, true good books, actually good books. This gives me grounds to think that our socialist literature is continuing to grow and develop. But still under the demands of the times and farther under these demands, but continuing to follow its own path. However, along with all I would like to point out that we may not have much money in the bank and we may not be rich in underground wealth but we have always had writers. I think that some of our writers would do honor to any European nation.

It is very important that we believe in what we write. That we be stirred profoundly and lastingly, that we be touched to the bottom of our soul! To see from all our writings that when we write, we do not dip our pen in the inkwell in front of ourselves but sink it into our very heart!.... When a person believes strongly in his work, I think that writing is an apostolic question, in the full and true sense of the word, a popular question.

Nikolay Zidarov:

The report of the Bureau of the Administrative Council of the SBP was a good example of an analytical, collective and objective interpretation of a number of important problems which have attracted our attention before.

Read scores of books, look through periodicals for children, glance in the ordered collections and even anthologies and almost everywhere you will encounter a familiar, vital world, you will smell the aroma of flowers and grass, you will be moved by the rising and setting sun, flies will buzz around you and streams will sing.... Certainly, I am not and cannot be against the existence of such literature. Its presence in the world of childhood cannot be denied by anyone. My concern, however, is for something else, the neglect of which can not leave me indifferent. I have in mind the children's and youth literature on civil subjects full of social and political inspiration. Somehow unnoticed over the years in the minds of the rather large number of writers the conviction was fostered that the major problems of our times must be presented to children solely by allegory, by a fabled subtext, or by symbolic suggestion and guesses. Without disregarding the specific nature of writing for children where the artistic and stylistic means have different measurements in comparison with the literary arsenal of creativity for adults, I feel that the existing practice is a major indication of a substantial lag behind party policy in the area of culture of which we were reminded by the theses adopted by the 12th Congress. In them we can quite clearly and categorically read the following thesis: "In artistic creativity, chief attention is to be focused on a further rise in its ideological and artistic level for creating works with a profound socialist content, national uniqueness and lasting general-human significance."

The fact that in the party document, artistic creativity is not divided into creativity for adults and for children means that the obligation also applies fully to us. This is a command of today. I would like to start by saying that in individual collections of verses, in fiction works and in the children's and youth periodicals there are the names of creators who clearly and ardently defend our optimistic-patriotic positions. Particularly valid for these authors is the maxim that the most elevated social idea would remain just a dry formulation if it was not carried out in the appropriate refined artistic form.

The child of today receives information from all sides. Space flights occur before his very eyes and the electronic screen of the home TV set makes him the instantaneous witness of the most fantastic phenomena. We must take all of this into account. Otherwise our books will not have an accurate focus, they will give rise to mistrust and will have an insignificant indoctrinational impact. These are the realities which we must always consider. There must be a higher organization of writing in order to increase its effectiveness. Let us not forget that years ago we, the poets, called the organization the September State of "Pioneeria." This state constantly strengthened and enriched its active, organized life. Miraculous changes were carried out on its poetic map. In its skies flew freely the assembly flag "Banner of Peace," over its shining streets rose suns of joy, its concert halls resounded with children's melodies and its young poets wrote on a white sheet their thrills and at times gave such poetic assessments of the world's problems which we, the adults, were not always able to analyze and rework so sincerely and movingly.

I would like to use this occasion to present to the congress one other question, another very important matter for our conversations and discussions, namely the approaching third International "Banner of Peace" Assembly. I appeal to all my colleagues not only to realize the exceptionally great cultural and political sense of this event but also show a maximum involvement in the ideas of the assembly and to show a civil and creative attitude to this major Bulgarian undertaking which will bring together the children of five continents.

Academician Panteley Zarev:

The chairman of our Union, Comrade Lyubomir Levchev, has found a good subject in his fine and comprehensive report. I would merely like to add certain comments. When we speak of modern artistic sensitivity, we must follow the traces of entire generations and not only of the present, current day. The generations carry what is new and characteristic for the sensitivity of a particular time. They are unique formations of history. They must be analyzed, what is older and more traditional must be discarded while that which is newer and contemporary must be kept. The latter is, certainly, linked both to the lasting as well as to the previous and includes the entire, complex structure of the human spirit.

However, generations not only form but also are overtaken. For this reason it has been essential, in addition to the concept of a "generation," to introduce the concept of time. Time and society are what create the viewpoint of generations.

In focusing on the problem of the development of our literature, Comrade Todor Zhivkov repeatedly taught us, along with the party, revolutionary creative thinking and also suggested to us the idea of historical optimism in literature. At present, the speaker has provided us with an impetus for reflecting both on time, society, generations, the current and the lasting, the characteristic in our literature.

It sometimes happens that the more an historical period is aware of itself the more it carries of the past or enriches itself by the past. It can be definitely said that immediately after 9 September, interest in our past was not so profound, and the present was still of such overriding concern that the present and not the past was at the basis of our historical awareness. At present, the picture is rather different. Various historical studies and images have been given an impetus primarily in literature and art and subsequently in science, and thus modern awareness has been updated or supplemented by both knowledge and inspiration received from the past.

In order to establish the reason for the unity between the past and present, literary history must seek out the common factors. Or something generally close in area or some internal relationship which creates the results and unity. To put it in other words, it is essential to find the reasons for the certain similarity between the past and the present, the necessity due to which the past is recreated in order to serve modern times.

But it is also important that in addition to the past the impact on modern sensitivity be governed by current political problems, by the social and, certainly, psychological changes, scientific discoveries, the "cosmization" of thinking, ethical and philosophical discoveries which appear in literature and art. Artistic fantasy in the past was linked to oceans and new lands, voyages along various meridians and entry into areas unknown to civilized man. Modern fantasy is assuming a different nature. It is now a trip through space. It is now a philosophical interpretation of certain concepts concerning ethics and civilization. We have merely to recall Pavel Vezhinov in Bulgaria or Chigiz Aytmatov in the Soviet Union.

That which has interested us in the context of the subject of the report on historical optimism is, in addition to the heroic and, I would add, also the dramatic confession of modern man, also the idea of movement, of change. Today's man in our society is becoming evermore aware that the processes in society and movements in the conduct of a person depend upon people, upon their activity and their participation in the changes coming about.

Two or three decades ago there began an assessment and reassessment of the past, the previous time, the time of the struggle for communist power with the appearance of major sagas as: "Tobacco," "Ordinary People," and "Ivan Kondarev." A start was also made in assessing the time of another transitional epoch as the national-historical, with the incompleting processes in it and the unrealized association of the people. This was the tetralogy of Dimitur Talev. At present, the concern is for modern times. Literature is directing us more and more tenaciously toward the unresolved questions of modern times, a look at ourselves and a new self-awareness which still has not achieved its limit.

I would like to draw attention to one other question which concerns the relationship between modern times and artistic literature. Never before has literature been so threatened by the growing competition from what we generally style the "information explosion." And here arises the problem of the qualitative value of Bulgarian literature. For example, it would be interesting to discuss the question of artisticness and readability of our literature. Because however reliable the ideas are, however strange the images may seem, they must be perceived with delight, they must be clothed in rich and fluid language and must reach not only the mind but also the subconscious of the reader.

Thus, historical optimism in our literature comes from the past into modern times and is renewed in them. This gains new features because the main thing in it at present is the historically necessary to direct us to the future as a living, a concrete, a real historical process.

Efrem Karanfilov:

It must be admitted that we, and not only in literary criticism, but also current affairs, journalism and elsewhere, employ for the same reasons the same thoughts and even phrases in different variations. While it is true of a lie that if it is repeated often enough it becomes a truth, a truth, in being frequently repeated, often loses its true value.

However, there are truths, there are works, there are literary heroes of which one must always speak. In order to bring out new aspects in their rich and diverse essence. In literature it is important how we approach the given subject and whether we see in a new light the given event, work, writer or literary hero. Much has been said about the contemporary literary hero in the various stages of our development. In his report Comrade Levchev examined this thoroughly and precisely from a new standpoint.

In studying the image of the hero, we have an opportunity to disclose certain new trends in our fiction characteristic of the last years of its development. In this sense attention must be focused on the greater interest shown to the inner world of the heroes and this shows the trust of the authors in them. The moral problem in good instances is not separated from the labor-productive one but rather merges with the most significant phenomena in social life.

In our fiction, another characteristic phenomenon can be noted, namely the delineation of an active personal stand by the author. Certain fiction writers have broken up the traditional chronological order and are not threatened by various nonfictional and lyrical deviations. This strengthening of the subjective principle in prose is an expression of the greater freedom in communicating with the readers. Characteristic in this regard are the works by certain talented authors of the middle generation of fiction writers such as Radichkov, Khaytov, Fuchedzhiev, Georgi Mishev and others.

And even such prominent nonfiction writers from the older generation as Bogomil Raynov, Andrey Gulyashki, Kamen Kalchev and others, have also created vivid fiction works written precisely in search of characteristic detailing, a subtext, with the intertwining of the subjective and objective principle, with elements of confession and with essayist and journalistic deviations. The successes of works such as "This Strange Profession" or "A Tramp Roams the World" or "Sofia Stories" and many others are the best proof of this.

I should also mention the boldness with which certain fiction writers pose acute problems and are not afraid to "take a glance" at that boundary area where the "minor truth" in life is intertwined with the major truth, for example, Gercho Atanasov, Doncho Tsonchev, Atanas Nakovski and others.

It is interesting to note that in recent years comparatively little has been written on a classical problem of our writers in the past, that is, the land and the rural worker. Here better known have been the works of St. Ts. Daskalov, Ivaylo Petrov, Dimitur Vulev, Dimitur Yarumov and certain younger authors.

I have had an opportunity to become acquainted with a book by an author about whom little has been written and said. The author has written a successful work precisely on modern rural questions, with an understanding of the problems, the production processes and most importantly human characters. This is the novel "Seasons and People" by Kiril Apostolov.

The true value of a social system is to be measured by the height of its morality. One of the basic measures of morality for individuals and collectives at present in our country is the quality of the product. This is undoubtedly

particularly valid for the work of a writer and for the work of literary critics, that is, the quality of their works, articles, studies and scientific works.

This is also valid for the work of the Literature Institute. The Institute's collective at present is confronted with the difficult task of writing a multi-volume history of Bulgarian literature. The desire of the editorial board for history is to write the individual volumes with the aid of the Writers' Union because this question requires collective effort.

History will remain the chief area of the Institute's future work. In it the objective principle will rank the values and will determine the specialty in the development of the literary process which is vitally linked with the entirety of historical destiny. In this literary process the work of each significant writer of the past and present day must be given its place because this is a history for the people and we know that our people have never allowed and will never permit any editors or any literary groups to dispose of their literary glory.

Boyan Biolchev:

A frequent reason for the disinterest of a reader lies in the specific "literary egocentricity" of the positive hero. Even the most authentic case is admired when it is given excessively great artistic territory, like a loquacious person boring us with even the truest story. There are numerous reasons for this phenomenon but, it seems to me, at the very basis lies a fragmentary understanding of concrete reality. At present, it is not difficult to discover a positive hero in life, as everything is working for the writer in this direction. The difficulty starts from this moment onwards, that is, the penetrating into his aesthetic environment, becoming accustomed to its microclimate, to its criteria of good and evil, and equally to its unique charm as well as to the naivete and even its minor superstitions. To that entire range of real values which, if they are not turned into artistic essences, dessicate a book to the condition of an herbarium and even the strongest positive hero cannot be kept in a herbarium.

Today's reader knows very well the contrasts and paradoxes of the modern world, he does not suffer from illusions and does not believe in myths. This is the modern Bulgarian, reasoning man. Some 20 years ago an effective image of developing industry with artistic success was turned into the symbol of progress. At present things are more complex. A hero of labor, in industry, for example, a hero of life, when he begins to act in artistic conditionality, that is, when he begins to develop in the reader's awareness, is measured against a special scale of comparison and criteria. When he comes alive in the literature, with our daily understanding and mentality, he brings us an awareness of environmental pollution, of the destruction of the environment, and the elimination of fields and fertile soils..., he continues in another aspect, in the reader's mind there hangs the possibility suggested by practice of carrying out a design error, of building done for subjective reasons where it should not be done... and finally that in which everything enumerated up to now is just a small part, the reader is unable to avoid the absurd of instantaneous destruction which hangs over all of us like a sword of Damocles. Our mind is more capacious,

things are not all the same and do not appear in a pure form. What will the real hero of our times be like without reinforcing the full notion of the reader's world, how complete will this image be when it brings together objectively contradictory trends of life and development. Here there scarcely is any pat answer as there are only unambiguously outlined new demands for realizing a writer's talent.

The active man of today is not a medium of history and not a recorder of major events. He is consciously involved in them and consciously creates his own world. Even in resisting some inertia in society, even himself sometimes confused, today's active man puts his personality as an active part of movement in the collective and society, and consequently it is fully possible for his image to present the idea of progress and at the same time be a subject of purely human sympathy.

Recently I attended a student debate devoted to the problem of the modern hero. One of the participants said some words which I remembered: "Today the hero is the one who will make you garments from the air and the sun." I was struck by such an assertion because in such a hero we can see the future, because along with a belief in the power of the human mind and capability, it brings us an implacability against literary anachronism and oversimplification.

Incidentally, writers are the first to make clothing from air and the sun. But these are not the emperor's new clothes but rather the ethereal clothing of the human spirit.

Nikolay Petev:

I will attempt to speak of the future of Bulgarian literature, although I am clearly aware that in the enormous ocean of time one can encounter underwater rocks of rapidly changing world reality, one can make an error in calculating the azimuth and some improbable creative wave will categorically send all my forecasts to the bottom.

On behalf of and upon the authority of the younger literary generation organized into the Office of the Young Writer, we most cordially congratulate you on the Fifth Congress, a congress of April unity, a congress of high communist writer's trade. We, the young literary creators, have in you not only inspired masters of the word, discoverers of new expanses in a new human soul, but also our teachers for ideas and mastery, true teachers with all the sacredness of the word. The future also commences precisely from such an unbroken link. The artistic word of the future will bring the bright revolutionary tradition of our socialist realist literature. The path to tomorrow lies not in a division into "young" and "old," but in the uniting of the communist ideal.

The power of the young literature which might also be called future derives from the belief in it. The General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, was responsible for these words: "We believe in our young creative intelligentsia. We believe in its political positions, in its total loyalty to the ideas and cause of socialism and in its vital link with the people." This trust of the Communist Party and the Central Committee is not



ours by right and we must not waste it. Such trust also means self-exactingness and self-criticalness.

The literature of the future will have the same object as that of today, man with his numerous mysteries in contact with the times. Recently from a high forum, a poet friend of mine with enthusiasm said that the literature of tomorrow will be the same as our literature of today. Excuse me, but this will not be so. Because in today's literature things are a bit wobbly and because without the dialectic we are nowhere. The world is speeding up, the world is changing. The revolution of machines is also blazing a trail in human thought. There new seeds are being sown. And new ideas will sprout and grow. Unbowed. Revolutionary. Yes, man will believe and will love, but his social and moral criteria will be even higher. And the literary heroes will still fight but for new, more perfect values, that is, for that which must be achieved, for that which will be. Or putting it another way, literature will still be an oracle, but of a higher stage.

In May of this year, I heard the First Secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union Georgiy Mokeyevich Markov advise young Soviet writers to depict "a man through whose biography and heart flows the electricity of the age and which now embodies the future." This great law of socialist realism serves not only our present literature, it will also be professed by the future because everything today is pregnant with tomorrow. But such discoveries are possible only if the young writers plus innate talent possess two other enormous qualities, a clear and profound Marxist-Leninist ideology and an understanding of contemporary life today. The activities of the Office of the Young Writer are completely aimed in this direction. I will not acquaint you in detail with its work. You are well aware of this both from the mass information media and from the report which has been distributed. However, I would like to emphasize the following: the present flight of the young creator has been given the "lift" of the SBP and the Dimitrov Komsomol and this force is charged with the April communist energy of our party. At the same time, we are obliged to point out that the synchronizing of the two unions is complete. One other thing. The new social position of the Komsomol depends not only upon the activities of the Office but also upon its responsibility. Responsibility to the idea, to modern times, to words, a responsibility for concrete deeds.

Evstati Burnaski:

As a man and creator involved with the Bulgarian People's Army [BNA] for nearly four decades, I am profoundly aware that never before has the world been confronted with a choice so categorical: either--or! And for precisely this reason I must lay out before you briefly the activities of the writer group under the MNO [Ministry of National Defense] and the BNA Main Political Directorate.

The number of creators from the writer group under the MNO is less than a squad, but the books which have been written and published between the two congresses surpass two-score. Among them are the two novels of Rangel Ignatov from his trilogy "Great Fate" and "Through the Storm." Presently, the writer is at work on the third volume in this series and is to be called "The Angered Sun."

Stoyan Boychev has published his novel "Bitter Grass" and several novellas collected into the book "Overgrown Paths." Neda Antonova has intrigued her readers with the novels "Don't Die Instead of Me," "Three Whales in an Aquarium," "Shelter for the Fortunate," and others. The play "The Lord of the Earth Descended" has also been given before an audience. The most recent member of the group Tsvetan Severski, is awaiting a novel at the Military Publishing House on contemporary army life. The poets have also not been idle. Orlin Orlinov with his inherent inexhaustible energy has published several collections of verses and poems, including: "Why Are We in Greatcoats," "The Wild Swan," and "The Small Stone," a poem for Georgi Dimitrov, his first prose book "A Duty to the Shades" and others. At the same time my collections of verse have appeared including "A Rainy Hour," "A Sentimental Autumn," as well as the collected verses on the occasion of my 60th birthday under the title "Salvaged Truths."

With certain okrugs and cities in the nation we maintain traditional friendly ties including Ruse, Gabrovo, Troyan and Sevlievo. Every year on the occasion of Soviet Army Day, the Drava March events and the victory, the group's members visit the cities and their conurbation systems. They meet with the worker collectives, with the party and state leadership and strengthen the ties between the people and the army. These activities of ours would lose some of their importance if there were not beneficial ties between the leadership of the SBP and the MNO and if a large portion of the creators did not feel themselves to be true fighters in the army ranks. The result of such effective collaboration has been certain of the books by Kostadin Kyulyumov, Matey Shopkin, Evtim Evtimov and others. We would like to add here that the poet Luchezar Elenkov has viewed as a combat order the idea for his wonderful "September Poem" which quite soon will appear in the bookstores.

Simeon Sultanov:

In the 1970's, we spoke of a publishing explosion, of a small book miracle which was unknown in a number of the European states. But in the last few years there has begun a reverse, restraining process in our book publishing and in the last stocktaking which covered the period from 1980 until the first quarter of 1984, the picture had fundamentally altered. The total value of unsold books in the entire book publishing network amounts to about 50 million leva. Up to now we have known that there are unidentified celestial bodies while now we have learned that there also are unidentified books worth several million leva. What are these books and how have they over the 4 years succeeded in becoming valueless?

During the 4 years and 3 months, the Bulgarian Writer Publishing House has been in second place with the number of unsold books, some 19.57 percent. This means that we would have unsold books valued at 6,615,000 leva. The amount is a respectable one and provides grounds for a superficial interpretation which, incidentally, has already been done. According to this interpretation, the unmarketability of the Bulgarian Writer books is due to the circumstance that the house publishes weak books and there the "grey flow" runs freely and without constraint. Well, we have decided to analyze this figure and see just what books are concealed behind it.

The largest percentage of books are those of our classics. The unsold books of our literary heritage represent some 15.50 percent with a value of around 5 million leva.

Behind these 5 million leva stand the following authors and books: Zakhari Stoyanov with 3 volumes, Aleko Konstantinov with 4 volumes, Yordan Yovkov with 6 volumes, Dimitur Dimov with 5 volumes, Emiliyan Stanev with 7 volumes, Stoyan Zagorchinov with 2 volumes, Asen Raztsvetnikov with 3 volumes, Svetoslav Minkov with 2 volumes. Individual books by Khristo Botev, Petko R. Slaveykov, P. Yu. Todorov, Chudomir, Dimitur Talev, Konstantin Konstantinov, Georgi Raychev and others.

Let me hurry to add immediately that we have no grounds to be dissatisfied with the attitude of the Bulgarian reader toward our literary heritage up to now. We have published our classics in enormous runs. Just what the scale of the republishings in recent decades have been can be seen from the following information: Ivan Vazov has been published in 7,297,800 copies, Elin Pelin in 5,511,150, Khristo Botev in 2,588,600, Lyuben Karavelov in 2,373,640, Aleko Konstantinov in 2,108,000, Peyo Yavorov in 1,841,900, Yordan Yovkov in 1,715,900, Khristo Smirnenski in 1,612,900, Nikola Vaptsarov in 1,710,200, while the "notes" of Zakhari Stoyanov have been published 29 times in a run of over 1 million copies....

Many of these books have been turned from personal copies into family ones and from family into community and will be used by two or three generations of Bulgarians.

Since 9 September there has been an increased interest in the selected works of our classics. It was a time of political reassessment and people sought the new which withstood this trial. After the April Plenum an interest was shown in collected works. It appears that after the dogmatic errors made by literary criticism, the reader himself wanted to make the choice. At present, because of other unexamined factors, again there is an interest in individual works and selected works. A time has come to put an end to the mania of proposing and making chaotic collected works with large forewords and extensive reference material merely because a literary critic discovered new letters by Dimcho Debelyanov or unknown articles by Lyuben Karavelov. The question arises of for whom are we publishing these books: for the mass reader or for the literary critics? If one is in favor of the mass reader, the figures show that he is more interested in those volumes which contain the most significant and popular works of the writer. At present, these comprise the largest runs.

In publishing work, there must not be inertia but rather surprise, a constant feeling for something new and interesting. At the same time, when a trade organization purchases "firmly" a known quantity of books, it must bear responsibility for their sales and 5 or 10 years later we must not be called upon to share with it the responsibility for the unsold books. We should not be forced to distribute the editions which remain unsold.

Along with everything else, here we again encounter the notorious time of 6 months, the time within which a book must be sold, after which they begin charging bank interest. In 6 months, it is essential to sell an Agatha Christie

novel and the "Notes" of Zakhari Stoyanov. And for children it is obvious that there cannot be the same return in time for two books, but this time continues to hang like a sword of Damocles over the heads of the poor booksellers. The expression "unsold book" comes to mind, even though so far no one has provided a definition of what an "unsold book" means. Is the linguistic monument of Nayden Gerov an unsold book and what will it lose if it is sold after 10 years? Must it constantly be said that a classic must be always in the bookstores? Recently the term "rapidly-liquid book" has been launched in contrast to the "slowly-liquid books." It is not difficult to guess which of these are "rapidly-liquid books."

We believe that everyone who is involved in the fate of the Bulgarian book, its development, its economics, will always keep in mind the remarkable words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov voiced at the 12th Party Congress:

"Let us not forget that profit in the cultural area is measured by many complicated indicators, by the long-range effect which sometimes equals the social role of entire generations."

This, ultimately, is the great, strategic and major profit which the people expect from the Bulgarian artistic literature.

Aleksandur Karasimeonov:

The literature of historical optimism. In the theme of the speech by Lyubomir Levchev the most important fatal problems for our literature have been woven together. The historic roots of our literature are tied to a belief and hope for national and spiritual ennoblement. Humanism, this deep attribute and most irreplaceable feature of our young literature, is profoundly linked to its optimism.

Permeated by the most humanizing and optimistic philosophy of all times, our contemporary literature brings together a belief in the victory of good with the basic goals of the socialist revolution.

I would like to link these ideas of mine with certain aspects in the contemporary literary process. In recent years, the literary atmosphere in Bulgaria has been such that it has greatly fostered the establishing of a creative feeling among talented young people. Our young literature can compare its accomplishments both with the high works of our own literature as well as in the context of the world literary process. But there are also works which are aimed primarily at our own inner world and which does not extend farther than the problems of the family. Isolated from the context of definite social relationships, the heroes are turned into mechanically manipulated figures and the expression of a requisite idea.

In the context of these ideas, the conclusion derives which not once but always must be revoiced: the need for much more knowledge concerning society and the people with which we live, much more knowledge on the moral processes in an urbanizing society and knowledge on the national character and its development under the new social conditions. Or as was simply and clearly stated in the party words: a close tie with the life of the people.

In a way these ideas are naturally tied to our constant theme, the theme of the positive hero, but from certain new viewpoints. The positive hero is a person, the engine of our times, of the processes and of the collective. But he is also a person who takes risks. A person who has the desire and the capacity to oppose the unknown, a person ready to defend his convictions. Does the positive hero need defense? How many possibilities do the positive heroes realize? And hence is it not one of the tasks of literature to help the potential positive hero, to urge him on, to inspire him morally, to prepare him and elevate him?

Fatal questions for our literature. In asking them, we see how important they are for literature, precisely for realizing its tie with the readers. In introducing the so-called positive hero into literature, we at the same time are also introducing basic conflicts, basic moral and social questions. The question of the positive hero is most closely tied to the question of maintaining a tie with the reader, with the communicativeness of our literature. This is why our literature needs a hero who challenges the unknown, who is dissatisfied with himself, works to improve himself, a hero possessed by the serving of mankind and working for self-knowledge. A hero who is able to link his internal world with the main goals of a socialist society, with its communist ideal, with its basic trait of revolutionary humanism. In this feedback--the literature and hero of our times--we can see the main possibility of creating significant works.

Kol'o Sevov:

On the eve of our congress, I met with a collective from an institute which employs engineers, economists and programmers. For me our dialogue was personally very instructive. I do not know whether these young people were aware of their conduct or attitudes, but this came from the status quo which is provided them by our present, our life with all its changes. The harmony was destroyed between material production and spiritual values and if this truth is not taken into account, it means that we doom our tomorrow to an erosion by technocracy, mundane concerns and Philistine complacency. Is poetry not harmed the most by sheer practicality, utilitarianism and routine? Why is poetry likened to very petty details?

In material production the word "innovator" is widely employed. A design bureau seeks innovators, laboratories seek innovators.... Without innovators there is no revolutionary thinking.... Then is it not amazing that in art the word "innovator" does not have this civil popularity? Over the last two decades, Bulgarian literature has won worthy heights in the mind of the contemporary reader, it has crossed its home-grown limits and has stood before enormous oceans. Its democratization and fertile soil have helped raise fine creators who can climb the greatest heights in literature. We have gained a sense of ourselves. Without a sense of ourselves we could not have organized international writer meetings, the April discussions and all our intelligible literary life.

Everyone knows that we live in a difficult time: of revolutionary earthquakes, of space flights and the danger of thermonuclear war. In this difficult situation we must discover first the ways to our own hearts and the ways to the

hearts of others, we must create living images of flesh and blood and the agents of our ideas of the beautiful, the harmonious and the moral. At present a writer must have more perceptiveness than ever before, it is difficult to close oneself in an ivory tower of the spirit and wait for the laurel leaves. Today there must be intelligence and inspiration, action and involvement, revolutionary zeal and a creator. If one wishes to be in pace with this accelerated movement, one must have the energy of movement, one must take an active part in the life of society, there must be a poetic flair and voice, and one must cut into the awareness and memory of our contemporary. But we must also possess additional energy, we must preserve good taste, we must foster good thoughts and by our works we must contribute to the harmonious development of man.... And not only this! We must preserve the wealth of our mother tongue, its generic uniqueness, the spiritual values of the past and we must turn new furrows in the memory of the people.

In breaking with its provincial complacency, our society of writers in Varna has established the first Poetry Theater. On the stage of the theater we have welcomed 25 poets from Bulgaria and other nations of the world. This theater, as Lyubomir Levchev happily said, without a curtain but with wings, has existed 3 years and as of January it will begin its 4th year. The period of doubt is long past. The poets have helped us with their talented works and their optimistic thoughts recorded in the log of the Poetry Theater....

Mikhail Vasilev:

Our congress is being held immediately after the jubilee plenum of the leadership of the Soviet Writers' Union. Precisely at this plenum, Comrade Konstantin Chernenko voiced new ideas on the attitude of socialist realist aesthetics. "It seems to me that discussions are not particularly beneficial on the question of what must be, for example, the 'balancing' of positive and negative qualities of a hero. The important thing, comrades, is that an artist's creative efforts have, if it can be so put, a single starting point, a faith in the truth of life and in the socialist ideals. This is an essential condition for a proper party and democratic approach in art."

In this context I would like to examine the complex movement of our prose over the last 3 or 4 years. That is, the time since the Fourth SBP Congress up to the present. The most beneficial thing is that precisely the searching working man at a price of enormous effort, in rejecting both the shades of the past as well as the enticements of modern life, is being turned into the active builder of socialism. This process in which a working man among the complexity of relationships with persons around him succeeds by his deeds in becoming a socialist master, have been talentedly brought out in a number of works.

I do not intend to list the successes of our literature from the last congress up to now. Undoubtedly during this interval of time our senior masters have contributed good books. My aim is to bring out the new which has been characteristic of criticism.

In essence our seriously established critics have been exclusively concerned with those works which are elements in our literary history. Hence it is not

correct to say that our good criticism has completely withdrawn from day-to-day activities. Simply the critics have avoided the average and particularly the poor books. The question might be asked of who would criticize mediocre books which are often praised by novices. Is it right for only young criticism to be concerned with this phenomenon? Until we solve the problem of a just preliminary selection of the offered books, we will continue to speak of the grey flow, in attempting to put the blame exclusively on the critic.

Now a few words for the "Criticism" section. As a unit of the Union this has been working in several areas. The problems of today's literature have been regularly discussed in a desire to increase the efforts of all critics. In this regard exceptionally beneficial have been the meetings and talks with the Union's chairman. We will not err in our view that the "Criticism" section is waging a true struggle to fully disclose talent, a synonym for true high quality. The diverse activities of the section have been carried out under the motto "The Scale of a Mature Socialist Society, the Scale of Criticism." But the section for which the Union's leadership is concerned must be aided in two areas: real help must be given in the training and retraining of the critics. The best critics of all generations must be returned to the editorial offices either as editors or as consultants. The present situation is an abnormal one.

All circumstances are on hand for Bulgarian criticism to fully justify the trust of the party and its first leader, Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Comrade Zhivkov has helped criticism by a number of his ideas and particularly his newest theoretical concepts of mature socialism. Comrade Todor Zhivkov is responsible for the inspired phrase "criticism is a form of party leadership over literature." In essence, we must always remember this demand.

Salis Tadzher:

I was pleasantly surprised that the report gave room to the work of the writers who are members of the writer group under the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. I say "surprised" because up to now these activities have not been taken up either in the individual reports on our Union life or in the reports of any congress. It is pleasant to note that now this oversight has been corrected. I would still like to briefly focus on certain important aspects in the activities of the writers from the group not only in terms of their personal creativity but also in carrying out the appeal of Comrade Todor Zhivkov "More Among the People, Closer to Life!"

Last year, a book was published entitled "Meetings Near the Danube" by the Profizdat Publishing House on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the literary holidays "Working Class, Forward!" This book was a collective work by the members of the writer group and a report of their activities. It was written with inspiration among the noise of machinery, in the Ruse combines and plants, in the institutions. I would like to add that it reflects the activities of all the writers in the group both via printed books and by meetings with the working class on the part of such poets and fiction writers as Venko Markovskiy, Atanas Mandadzhiev, Bogdan Gloginski, Radoslav Mikhaylov, Georgi Mishev, Damyan Damyanov, Dimitur Vulev, Kliment Tsachev, Kosta Stradzhev, Lada Galina, Khristo Chernvaev, Marko Nedyalkov, Iliyana Mikhaylova, Salis Tadzher

as well as friends of the group such as Angel Todorov, Emil Koralov, Kamen Kalchev, Atanas Dushkov, Darina Gerova, Dobri Zhotev, Doncho Tsonchev, Gencho Stoev, Stoyan Ts. Daskalov, Todor Yanchev, Serafim Severnyak, Atanas Nakovski and others. Also there were those who were not yet in our group: Emil Manov, Vasil Popov and Nedelcho Draganov.

The above-mentioned names are sufficiently representative to conclude that the writer group under the BPS [Bulgarian Trade Union] Central Council has won the authority and affection of working people. It was correctly pointed out in the accountability report that the group had over 800 meetings with readers. All these meetings which evoke friendship with the working collectives conversely make an impression and are reflected in their new verses, stories, novels, tales and so forth. This, for example, is how there emerged the interesting collections "The Strike" and the just-published book "Veterans" with the foreword "Fighters of the Worker Cause" by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the BPS Central Council. I would also emphasize that the joint activities of the two leaderships--on the one hand, the SBP and, on the other, the BPS Central Council, has produced the desired results! These activities must be further deepened and broadened for the sake of the common cause.

Finally, I would like to emphasize again that the published books and the social activities during the report period in essence are an unique report by the writers from the group not only to themselves but also to the BPS Central Council as well as to the Fifth SBP Congress. The mere existence of the writer group under the BPS Central Council which provides calm creative work of any nature is a great plus for the writers which we must preserve and broaden and most importantly merit!

From this derives my conviction that similar writer groups could be organized under other institutes. This form of aiding writers in developing their creative abilities completely has provided excellent results. They now will be judged not only by literary criticism but also by the history of literature!

Slav Khr. Karaslavov:

Again the time has come for us to review the world of the pen and word and see what our creative inspiration has achieved. In this world of terrifying cruise missiles, of warmongering shouts and threats which inhabit the New World and have reached the old, the sprouts of our lyricism must gain the strength of eternal life in order to protect it, to protect our hopes and our future. In the report of Comrade Lyubomir Levchev, a large and important place was given to this problem. This runs as a voiced and unvoiced theme through the entire sense of our creativity, our peaceful creativity and our physical and spiritual presence on this planet. All those international writer meetings which have bestrewn the air of our nation with their peace-loving essence show the strength of our writer organization and of that ideologically strong collective which can bring together such great personalities of the word under the motto: Peace --The Hope of the Planet!... At one time, at the first meeting, there were people who came to our country with prejudices. One prejudiced visitor, after several days in our nation, completely changed his opinion. And now there is a television recording where he states on the small screen: "I discovered



Bulgaria for myself." And he has become one of the best friends of Bulgaria. That was the beginning, at the First International Writers' Meeting. Since then a number of years have passed. During this time both the nation, we the writers and Bulgarian literature have undergone new positive changes which have been taken up both in the report and the speech. A historical optimism has returned over time and only the blind cannot sense and feel it. In the diverse development of our social and cultural life, the Bulgarian writers are responsible for an essential flavor. The fact that during the period between the two congresses the union members wrote and published 771 new books says a great deal both for the writers themselves as well as for publishing in our nation. These books and this clear position of the Bulgarian writers go to confirm the words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov that "the backbone of Bulgarian literature is political." Yes, the Bulgarian writer understands very well the sense of his calling. The scale of his creativity is held not in space but rather on the proud peaks of the home mountains. The creativity from them is for those who created him as a man, as an individual, those who breathed into him the strength for creativity.

There is not a single nation which does not respect its classics and does not honor its teachers. This is true of us, too. Little would I doubt the sincerity of the person who confirmed this. But looking at the films made from the works of our classics, I would not agree. Where is the rich creativity of Vazov? Where is the lyrical depth of a Yovkov, where is not the personality but rather the creativity of Botev, Lyuben Karavelov, Aleko Konstantinov, Khristo Smirnenski, Geo Milev, Khristo Yassenov? Where are Georgi Raychev, Georgi Karashev, Dimitur Talev, Karaliychev, Raztsvetnikov, Furnadzhiev, Svetoslav Minkov, Ivan Vollen or others? Only Yavorov has appeared on the screens, but not with his fate as a creator but rather his fate as a defendant. Botev, Vazov and Vaptsarov, these complex poetic heights, must be present in our daily life on television, the radio and publications because they are eternal and because we need them.

Another problem which I would like to raise for our congress is the problem of the positive hero in the works. It is not that he is not present but he is, only not where sweat is running but out of the old habits where blood has flowed. I myself have noticed that our pens find it difficult to adapt when the question of the heroic in life is raised. But this--an entire life creating goods, standing by machines and struggling for a high quality in human relationships--is this not heroism? We continue to remain the debtors to this labor heroism. Numberless verses and poems have been written about Kolyu Ficheto, the master of masters, but we remain in the debt of his successors. Who of us has asked the question: Who are those who dug the tunnels through the Old Balkans and who are those persons who built pylons to the sky?

Here I have already become a supporter of the social assignment. The Writers' Union must introduce this tested form. A precise, concrete social assignment and not something general.

Recently I heard a folk saying. It was voiced about construction namely that a good bride cannot come from a homely girl. This wisdom has numerous meanings. It can also be paraphrased, in applying to us that in many instances from a

good subject it is possible to create a bad work. Why is this the case? Because we do not always think through the great truth of hard work, of the possibilities of our talent and we are unable to impose on ourselves the old habit of comparing ourselves with one another. Time and the people are the sole judges both of the measurement of a life as well as the creativity created by this life.

At present, when the major problems of our age are present in this auditorium, in our discussions of the future of our literature, of the peaceful day of our country, let us not forget the motto which is inscribed on the front of this building: "Unity Makes Strength!" Unity is an imperative of our times, unity to the party, to the people and to the demands of the great battle for peace in the world.

Nayden Vulchev:

The song or lament were a tested friend of men in their battle "for bread and freedom" even before the written word and poetry has remained one of the most vivid flowers in the crown of any national culture. The most spontaneous chronicle of the joys and sorrows of the people, the most challenging clarion call and the tenderest solace, poetry has given spirit, it has extolled the heavens, widened horizons, forged victories and led forward.

Vaptsarov's death and the death of the poet partisans followed Botev's page in the book of Bulgarian poetry and now it is our time. It is our duty. Because we, the literary youths of the September morrow, were enthralled by their songs and their feat. They joined us on that famous campaign of our new motherland and directed us soldiers to that literary faith which all of us could profess with the belief of Radevski: "Since Smirnenski sings, so Botev may die."

Can we be their worthy successors?

Our strongest contemporary poets with their most vivid verses can worthily answer this question. Although here everything is in motion and today's circle in the spiral tomorrow must be continued anew. But we also have modern poetry which is not inflicted with skepticism and bookish pseudowisdom, which has remained above illusory fashion and verbal tightrope walking, poetry that is sincere and human. Poetry which focuses our present in its full measurement, from the gigantic contour to the human tear. The poetry of those who give the hue and sound of the poetic now and glorify the labor of man in his cotton padded coat, the morning bristle, the sweetbread of the cooperative field and the ongoing feat of the hero of our times.

I would say that very many have recently acquired poetic ambitions and that very many high school fans of metered speech no longer prefer to read it but to write it, particularly when there has been a mass move to trod down the definition of metered speech. And for all its sorts: rhyme, rhythmic, metric and strophic. I am convinced that the times after us will bring forward in a long marathon the vestiges of many fallen competitors who fled unthinkingly in the mass storm but decided that the warning signs did not apply to them. But they will merely be the accomplices of a proud cohort of talents who are writing

today's April anthologies both with the pens of the veterans Bagryana, Radevski, Isaev and Panteleev and with the student chemicals of the young poets as well as all fortunately marked and severely punished with the sign of talent.

Our poetry in recent years has lived for the same joys and concerns of the people and with a knowledge that it is a citizen of its own country, of a single world, of a planet over the peaceful orbits of which hangs the threat of death. In our dynamic times, ideas and images are a gigantic charge which can open the ways and expanses for progress and can also be a barrier to evil undertakings and misanthropic ambitions. Poetry is aware that problems and phenomena are flaming and smoking, and that the pulsations of today shine with dots and dashes. Possibly according to the laws of nature poets are the first to spot these emissions and out of the logic of the genre are the fastest to engage them in dialogue: they greet them, dispute them, stimulate them and deny them. Thus the breath of Bulgaria and the world becomes the essence of their stophes and if these true and important ideas embodied in a highly artistic way spark forth, these strophes continue the eternal book of Bulgarian poetry. How many are the echos of our aware day in our verses, how many more of them are hymns to the sun and man, the flying bird and the green tree, how many of them are meaningful for others--by so much will they be guaranteed a future.

Dimitur Kanushev:

The people's victory of 9 September 1944 caught Bulgarian drama in a difficult and hopeless situation. Long since gone was the fortunate hour of the appearance of "The Masters" of Racho Stoyanov and "Golemanov" of St. L. Kostov, the dramas and comedies of Yovkov.

The return to life and creativity and the recovery from silence were possible only on the powerful wings of the socialist revolution. And for four decades now this fine dependence has provided vital juices, impetus and sense for theater art, dramaturgy, directing and acting. It was the basis of the rise and flourishing of the theater, of its originality and diversity, of the affection which it has earned from the public and the recognition which comes from more and more corners of the world. For this reason, in my opinion, our congress has the attractive and important task of tracing how this dependence developed, how dramaturgy and the theater reached the roots of the people's life and how they were turned into a powerful means for the indoctrination of the socialist personality.

Very frequently, when we speak of socialist Bulgarian dramaturgy, we make a stipulation that its historical development has been brief and by doing this we seek a concession for the state in which it is and for its accomplishments. However, with each passing year such an assertion becomes more and more invalid and the boundary mark of a half-century of its existence is already visible. Suffice it to say that at present working in the difficult dramatic field are talented authors from three generations and that Bulgarian drama holds a firm place in the repertories of the socialist theaters.

I would not err in saying that Bulgarian dramaturgy possesses a vividly expressed national character. This is due to our popular artistic traditions, to Bulgarian spirit and life, to the national way of thinking and the fondness for the theater. It is profoundly revolutionary and realistic as a method because it forms its heroes from the contradictions of reality, along its path to socialism and communist ideals. It is maximally ideologized and openly pro-party.

A characteristic feature of the 40-year development of our dramaturgy has been its ability to renew itself thematically and aesthetically. To the greatest degree this is due to its proximity to the life of the people and to the party's policy of building a socialist society as well as to the humanistic principles of this policy.

Naturally our dramaturgy is not devoid of weaknesses and shortcomings, some of which are serious, both of a professional nature as well as when we view it as a process. We are dissatisfied with the strength of the generalizations which are made about the most recent and progressive phenomena in the modern world, the complex and contradictory phenomena and facts are not always profoundly investigated and with sufficient realism. It is high time to put an end to such works. They have nothing in common with the level which has been reached by our modern national artistic culture or with society's need for art. The intellectualization of labor, the scope which the scientific and technical revolution will gain in all spheres of production and so forth will not only sharply alter the nature of labor and life but also will require the creative involvement of each man and will also make corrections in his morality, way of life, the problems of the individual and so forth. How will dramaturgy respond to the artistic needs of this highly educated man who has been organized in a new way by labor and how will it depict him? What will be the development of the problem of the heroic about which criticism has so much to say? Questions, questions. We do not have the right to avoid them. They bear directly on the fate of literature and art, on their uniqueness and we should show attention and creativity to them. Obviously the person who has an ambition to work in the dramatic field must be armed with innovative ideas and daring, with new knowledge about man and society, and with love for them in this 20th Century of ours which is so full of revolutionary change.

Petur Anastasov:

For each of us it is clear that historical optimism is the core of the communist idea. And when we speak of literature of historical optimism, we in essence are sketching in the changes of one of its greatest victories. Our party, in considering the objective patterns of development, has imposed a uniform criterion which is equally valid for all spheres of material and spiritual life. At present, we are witnessing an exceptionally interesting and fruitful interpenetration of artistic-creative processes with the remaining processes of the material and spiritual sphere and this to an even greater degree strengthens our responsibility for the quality of our literature. It can participate successfully in the creation of new human values only if it carries the traits of high ideological and artistic faithfulness and if it carries the fundamental trait of historical optimism.

From observations in my immediate publishing work and from the most general observations on the national literary process, I am left with the impression of an artistic sterility and a social infantilism in a certain portion of works on modern subjects. I have the feeling that in many works by the same writers as well as different writers, literature is reproducing itself. In and of itself a work is better than another, it gives the impression of development but there is no true approach to life, a uniting, a spark or fire from this uniting. Obviously a major work of literature must reproduce human virtues in the real world, among really existing people and not in the world of literary heroes. A true literary hero is valuable not in the fact that he evokes sympathy, that he gives us a feeling of calmness or that he satisfies appropriate spiritual needs but rather in the fact that he creates in us new demands in order to change us and in order to make us better.

In his fourth lecture Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a clear answer to all the disputed questions which involve the creation of a positive hero but why is it that in our creative laboratories we have been rather slow in reforming and continue to deeply discuss his eventual traits and qualities instead of taking to realize them. What is he, does such a person actually exist, and so on and so on with such questions. I feel that in contrast to literature a true positive hero exists in life. At times it is not easy for this man, sometimes he sees red and he is fed up, but he does not give up but continues the struggle. He is the true agent of revolutionary thought. He is a communist and from the position of high communist morality he imposes his civil credo, he leaves the others and unmasks law-flaunting apathy, selfishness and accommodation, carelessness and lack of principle. This man exists. The writer, more than anyone else, must believe that he exists. But he is not seen by those for whom it is inconvenient to see him. Is not a fear of a real positive hero hidden behind their appeals for verisimilitude?

If the urgent problems of quality in our society unite us around the major goal of achieving wealth and prosperity, they also remind us of the existence of an even higher goal, that is, creating a harmoniously developed individual who is the carrier of high human morality and communist ideological loyalty. The party teaches us to measure today by tomorrow. And there is nothing wrong in demanding that we morally measure the people of today by the man of tomorrow. For this purpose, certainly, it is essential to pose higher creative goals and overcome the inertia which has separated us from the movement of the flow of life.

In the provinces there live a number of highly regarded Bulgarian writers who by their civil and creative presence set an atmosphere for the development and confirming of new gifts. Yes, decentralization has truly been a prerequisite for a full literary life. It remains for the creators with their talents and their books to complete the actual, full decentralization of literary life, to have their say in the national literary process and discover their unique place in it. Do they have the strength to do this? I definitely feel that they do. It is the duty of the SBP to show even greater attention and concern to the creators living in the provinces. There at present there are many young poets and fiction writers who possess the necessary qualities of being admitted to membership in the Union.

Tan'o Klisurov:

If a writer from the provinces speaks, usually it is expected that he will deal with the well-known subject of "capital--provinces." Is this subject still pertinent? Has not the status quo of the writers in the capital and the remaining cities of the country already been evened out?

The difference is clearly declining but it still exists. In recent years the provincial societies have grown stronger, and rather a large number of union members have been admitted from among those living outside the capital. Almanacs have been created and this is a good opportunity for ordering the local creators. But is this sufficient? Does everything else depend upon the strength of talent, regardless of where the writer lives?

I feel that the good and talented which comes from the creators in the provinces is not immediately noticed and properly assessed. Certainly there are writers outside of Sofia who attract attention and who have gained proper recognition. But these are not more than three or four.

But there are many more talented ones. They still remain the unmerited and unpleasant "and others," an anonymity which oppresses against the background of the praising assessments for names which predominantly have a Sofia residence. Such an unique and original creator as my fellow resident Khristo Katsarov, for example, a poet, prose writer and dramatist, has remained an excessively long time outside the perusal of the critics who have suddenly rediscovered him on his 60th birthday. There are more than enough other examples.

Possibly I am prejudiced but I feel that a significant share of modern talented Bulgarian poetry is being created in Stara Zagora and Burgas, in Varna, Plovdiv, Khaskovo and certain other provincial cities. For this reason the writer in the provinces merits a kind word and more attention. This will not only inspire his creativity but will also inspire his apostolic undertaking without which the concept of the decentralization of culture and literature would be devoid of sense.

Certainly in our Stara Zagora not everything is rosy. Our society has problems in it lacks vivid, outstanding names in the coming literary generation, in Stara Zagora between the two congresses two of our union members died, another two moved away and in accepting new members for several years we have been neglected; our almanacs which in terms of contents are among the good ones for years running have been published on a poor printing level.

But I think that in the main area, in the creation of talented books for our modern times and in the unbroken tie with the readers and with the working people and youth, the Stara Zagora Writers' Society is following the right direction. And we have two guarantees for this: our society is relying on its own forces, all 33 of its members, including the 4 union members, live on the territory of the district and we do not "tour"; secondly, the measure by which we judge our literature and our organizational actions is not an okrug one but rather a national one. As befitting Stara Zagora, the city, it has given Bulgarian literature Kiril Khristov and Georgi Bakalov, Geo Milev and Nikolay Liliev, Veselin Khanchev and Ivan Khadzhikhristov.

Lilyana Stefanova:

Doctors assert that an abrupt change from one strong emotional state to another is harmful to human health and is counterindicated and that the most dangerous are not excitement but rather sudden mental changes such as anger--quiet, joy--sorrow, triumph--fear.... Protect yourself, they say, in this heart-attack age of lightning changes, from flights and crashes in our mentality. But what about the poets? Doesn't poetry, that sister of risk, always seek precisely the reverse? Its health or actually its dramatic existence is due precisely to those abrupt transitions, to strong emotional conflicts and unexpected mental twists. Just in one poem by Botev, for instance "Farewell," how many dizzying gulfs between the various states of the spirit, between almost conscious immortality and a clear presentiment of death, between a thirst for affection and the cry of duty, what a high fusion of the elegaic voice of doom and the rashness of the brave.

Or the close cell of the tragic and the lightning of enlightenment in the four verses of Vaptsarov? Cold, merciless clarity; execution and after the execution, the worms. Not death, not the end, no, worms! And always that miracle which is within the power of a great poet. "But in a Storm!" Yes, in a storm, in flight! Only there! We shall be. All the naked, exposed, roughly seen truth of the human end and up to it, no, before it, in spite of it--the entire optimism of an age. And only on the cross of four rhymes. This striking ability of the poet to bring out the tragic in the position of a people which is immortal, this ability is alive and active in today's literary process. And this means that it is a question of a modern literature which believes in the constructive force of our society and is not afraid with realistic and impartial eyes to look at the complex truths of the times in which we live, its pains and wounds.

For the successes of our literature in recent years for the best by which it possesses the reader, undoubtedly of importance is the maturity with which it seeks the truth in its "extremes and clashes." And primarily the boldness with which it participates in the great experiment of building a new society. At present, the duty of criticism is to direct the young people toward the experience and amazing capacity of each major poet himself to broaden his biography, to return to the pace of events so that life can be "made civil," that is, we must have artistically significant, even the most intimate verses.

The 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism provides the greatest lesson of history for the concerns of today. The great feat of the Soviet people rouses us again with truths both for life and for literature.

Let us remember a people which, hungry and severely wounded, caressed our wounded youth, gave strength to our maturity and passed through all fatal clashes and sufferings in order to give a new self-awareness to all mankind!

Lyuben Stanev:

Just in the last several years since the Fourth SBP Congress, the collaboration of our fiction writers, poets and dramatists with movies and television has produced significant results and has brought our writers three Dimitrov Prizes

and many other high domestic and international distinctions. In addition to the major film epochs devoted to the 1300th anniversary of our state or to great Bulgarians of our recent or more distant past, the names of our colleagues are on the credits of a number of films investigating modern reality and the active positive hero. Some of these films are already out and others are to be screened in the next few months. I would particularly like to mention such works as the television series "By Night With White Horses" by Pavel Vezhinov, "A Day Not Foretold" (from a script by Bogomil Raynov), "Forget This Instance," written by Georgi Danailov, "Cry for Help," written by Boyan Biolchev, "A Romantic Story" and "A Recommendation" written by Aleksandur Tomov, "Mother Is Getting Married," written by Kalina Kovacheva, "Don't Get Mad, Man," written by Kiril Topalov, "Portrait of an Ordinary Day" written by Tsiliya Lacheva and others. Generally, as can be seen, immediately after what was a weak and poor year (1983) in terms of writer participation, there was a change for the better and writer involvement in work on Bulgarian films has again assumed its proper important and essential place.

An entire group of the most active Bulgarian fiction writers, poets and dramatists have been working for years and contributing to the system of our cinematography. In addition to them, the flourishing of Bulgarian film and television art has also been aided by another group of writers who are members and nonmembers of the SBP and who have proven their professional fitness in the area of movie dramaturgy. By their activities the scriptwriters have fostered what I would say is a characteristic Bulgarian picture of the cinematographic process, namely our films and television are based on serious literature, both classical and contemporary.

From my many years of experience in film and as an editor, as an editor-in-chief and as a filmwriter, I have reached the conclusion that often in our most conscientious and best intentioned colleagues there is a prejudice against film scripts as a second-rate literary product which does not merit the full mobilization of one's forces. Unfortunately, this not so respectful and sympathetic attitude toward scriptwriting activity is encountered not only in individual writers but also sometimes in people who direct union work. One of the most striking and unpleasant results of this negative fact is the in no way justified former disdain for the group of pure scriptwriters with their indisputable contribution to our film industry and who, however, are unable to cross the threshold of our Union in spite of the fact that they are essentially writers with a name, with serious accomplishments and popularity among the people of which many could only dream.

Naturally there are also other explanations for the poor showing in film dramaturgy. However banal it may be to exaggerate the so-called film specifics, we cannot avoid this completely, particularly when we sit down to write an original script. It is difficult for an author who has no experience in this art and once in a blue moon is seduced into going into a cinema or watching a television film and then write a good script, however indisputed may be his qualities and accomplishments in other areas of literary creativity.

We feel that it is time to have a serious and profound discussion of all these and a number of other questions which are vitally important for the further involvement of the Bulgarian writer in the film process and hence for the fate



and good future of the Bulgarian feature film. For this purpose a major role must be played by the Interunion Commission on the Questions of Film and Television which has been set up by the SBP and the SBFD [?Union of Bulgarian Film Directors].

Georgi Strumski:

If the socialist way of life is victorious in our nation and a predominant portion of society becomes a new socialist personality, a major contribution to this victory and to this development has and is being made by the best works of Bulgarian socialist literature, including Bulgarian artistic literature for children and youth. To indoctrinate people with broad cultural interests and aspirations, patriots and internationalists, people with an awareness and dignity of the builders and citizens of a society which has been set out and won by the finest sons and daughters of the motherland--this is a historic task of literature which the masters of the Bulgarian pen--communists and non-party communists--have accepted and do accept in their hearts and minds. During the congress we have felt the great distance which Bulgaria has come and of which we are a vital part with the successes and weaknesses, searches and discoveries and, if need be, with our problems and creative disputes.

With the April spirit which is a precise measure of our civil and creative ascent, we rightly say that in the economy in just a decade a new Bulgaria has been built. But such a vital and new Bulgaria has been born and has grown up with each decade around us, a young Bulgaria with blue and red strips, with the colors of our skies and our revolution, a Bulgaria that is singing, dreaming, inquiring, demanding and critical.

As I have expressed myself in a different context, if we want to seek the unknown capabilities of a person, let us seek them primarily in the latent energy of our young contemporary. He is a kid who in ecstasy reads a favorite book and by it masters entire galaxies and accumulates in himself the energy for significant deeds. He is the boy who rediscovers the fantastic world around himself and imbibes it with open eyes and a vulnerable heart.

Around us, with blue and red stripes on their chests, an enormous army is growing up, a new generation of Bulgarians. We can have different views on the richness or poverty of vital experience and emotional life in our young contemporary. But in one way or another he will be the builder and full master of the 14th century of the Bulgarian state. We cannot be indifferent to what we take from our times, from our literature and art and offer to him along with ourselves. But we must not defer in answering these questions.

The struggle for the young individual is being waged now. We are sowing the seeds which tomorrow will produce an ear. Our present words, if they are strong and inspiring, tomorrow will be echoed in thousands of voices. The souls of the young are the battlefield in the decisive struggle for the future.

Because of all this we more and more must give thought to what has been achieved and what has not been achieved in this area of literature. And particularly what has not been achieved as this is our particular concern. Using high

criteria and uncompromising exactingness we must approach the ideological and artistic qualities of the literary works and the unresolved organizational conditions concerning the volume and periodicity of the publications and the book publishing facilities. Our recent party meeting with the speech given by Comrade Simeon Yanev precisely and frankly outlined the unresolved problems. Our task today is to aid these problems in gaining a resolution with the scope and understanding which was called for by Lyudmila Zhivkova.

We are pleased that precisely our nation by its International "Banner of Peace" Assembly is providing great scope for the flight of children's gifts and is becoming the cherished republic of childhood.

In the unceasing battle for the future, in understanding the dialectics of our life, we, the modern Bulgarian writers, must buy our books more and more frequently and in a talented manner be encountered there, in the living hearts of the younger generation. In our creative energy and sleeplessness we must never forget them.

Bozhidar Bozhilov:

When Georgi Dimitrov and Todor Zhivkov speak about Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, like the prominent leaders of the Soviet party and state, they employ poetic turns of phrase and comparisons, they call it the air and sun of our peoples, and liken it to something vitally essential for man.

Because this is actually the case. Such friendship has been and will be because its coordinates are determined by national, historical, and even more by strong ideological vital ties.

Russia actually saved our people and its language from final peril, and provided an opportunity for our literature to quickly make up for what it had lost in barbarous slavery by Khristo Botev, Georgi Sava Rakovski and Lyuben Karavelov who drew inspiration from Russian geniuses and were linked to its culture. Ivan Vazov found shelter in Russia in order to later write his masterpiece "Under the Yoke."

These generally known facts, the desire of all our community as well as the tenacity of the leadership have created a magazine for Soviet literature in Bulgarian, with the Union Chairman Lyubomir Levchev as the first editor, in order to emphasize the importance of the publication.

The old literary friendship and affection which go back for many centuries require a new stage, along with the joint meetings of the leadership, along with the mutual mass publication of translated literature of the two peoples, along with the greatest possible collaboration between the unions of Bulgarian writers and translators in Bulgaria. There must also be a magazine which more closely follows the current literary life in the USSR, takes it up widely and in depth, publishes the most recent and most interesting in the area of fiction, poetry and criticism which then must be published or published in parallel with its printing in Soviet periodicals. If we speak about historical optimism in our literature, the example will be found primarily in Soviet literature, the literature of revolutionary thinking.

The magazine would provide a section on Bulgarian-Russian and Bulgarian-Soviet literary relationships. My first talks with possible authors on this subject such as Dimitriy Markov, Zlidnev, Ketkov, Dinekov and many others showed what treasure there is to mine.

The main thing in the publication would be active, dependable advice for the Bulgarian reader on the newest in Soviet poetry, prose and criticism on the questions of literature and art and which must be read.

Allow me from this high forum to express to the leader of the Soviet delegation, Comrade Vitaliy Ozerov, our gratitude to the Union leadership for the aid given us and to thank the editors of the journal SOVETSKAYA LITERATURA and the newspaper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, the editors of the journals YUNOST', NOVYY MIR, ZNAMYA, OKTYABR' and others as well as the editors of the republic magazines who aid us gratis and will continue to look with affection on our cause so close to their great creative hearts.

The congratulatory telegrams which have been sent in starting up publication by the leader of the USSR Writers' Union, Georgiy Markov, the Editor-in-Chief of the magazine SOVETSKAYA LITERATURA Sava Dangulov, as well as the encouraging reviews published in a number of Soviet publications have been for the editors as well as for our Union an obligation which with the common aid of all our members we hope to carry out as we should in order to contribute to the effective and creative deepening of our literary ties.

The established reliable and talented personnel of translators must constantly receive reinforcements. We are hopeful that criticism of the translations will play a positive role in establishing translations which are as close as possible to the originals both in language and in spirit.

One of the main levers for completing this extremely responsible job is close collaboration between the unions of writers and translators in Bulgaria and the USSR Writers' Union, the humble but intense work which confronts the editorial collective of the journal FAKEL and all its talented co-workers.

Nadya Kekhlibareva:

We are reporting on 4 years of our creative life during which there were numerous successes for Bulgarian writers. We have merely to recall a number of the good literary works which appeared during this period and were distinguished by high awards. We have merely to recall a number of actions by the SBP in the aim of strengthening ties with writers from various parts of the world. The most important of these actions were certainly the Third, Fourth and Fifth World Writers' Meetings held in Bulgaria in the name of peace and the future of our planet.

In spite of the indisputed successes of our Union, scarcely any of us would be complacent. Today a spiritually healthy person cannot live divorced from the pulse of our times. And our times are more alarming than any other time in the history of mankind.

Hence we try to capture in a mesh of words precisely these uneasy times which give us joy and bitterness, sleep and terrible insomnia.

There are periods in our history when it is not enough for a writer to leave by his words a feeling of beauty, knowledge or even divine wisdom. During such periods, people have the right to expect defense, unreserved defense from their writers. Before our human time passes.

Our people have the right to expect a profound optimism in the poetry of their writers and this was strongly emphasized by Comrade Lyubomir Levchev. The people expect from us the sincerest faith in the people's ideals.

Now, when maturity must be in my heart, I can more clearly answer an old question: why do you write?

I write to describe the people of my Black Sea region, where I spent my childhood and youth. I ardently desire people to learn about the beauties of my sandy shore.

I would like to describe to people the man who knocks at the gates of the 21st Century and who will open the gates to space. I would like to speak about the ordinary man caught between aspirations and still torturous reality.

What incidentally is permanent in our times? I would reply: the desire of a tree to reach the sun.

A mother's breast which nurses an heir. The thirst of a man to realize himself through joyous work. The unslagged thirst of a man to provide hours richer in joyful experience and joyful thrills not so much for himself as for his children.

The tread of the revolution.

Dreams. The stubborn belief of millions of people that the dream will become a reality. And the new dream will come to be.

Let me repeat: for us, the writers, the lasting thing in our times is an obligation, a calling and a responsibility to defend by our creativity the world with its fruit trees and flowering fields, along with children's chalk drawings, along with human smiles. Let us protect our planet which has been hit so many times and is heavy with wounds but is inspired with hope, the home of tomorrow.

Luchezar Stanchev:

The high demands of the Fifth Congress oblige us to take a bold step for our political growth, for our revolutionary thinking and hence for our literary creativity. Whatever successes we have achieved, we must not give way to complacency. All of us must resolve many creative questions.

The struggle for high quality is directly tied to the problem of historical optimism, of moving from the positive hero to an integrated positive solution.

To a clear revolutionary awareness. The cornerstones have already been laid back in the revolutionary past. We must be pleased that the optimism of Nikola Vaptsarov and his comrades of the 1930's can be found in the pages of our best contemporary poets. Evermore clearly we can see the desired aim of creating a socialist classic in our literature. We have been aided in this also by the April emancipation.

Significant new successes have been achieved by our young critics in correctly evaluating our literature. The resurrection of the past has kept pace with the modern interpretation of literary facts. Incomplete analysis and assessment more and more are disappearing from our literary life. This process is growing deeper and broader in all literary publications. The high esteem in Bulgaria and abroad for many of our contemporary poets who have been translated into foreign languages has led to merited awards and honors from academies and unions abroad for the translated books by our authors.

Our literature for children and young people is no longer being underestimated. A sufficient number of critical books have appeared which investigate individual authors or discuss the problems of literature for children and young persons. This is completely merited because in our children's literature there are creators who in terms of the strength of their talent equal the creators of adult poetry and prose.

Between the Fourth and Fifth SBP Congresses, talented young authors were admitted as members and these have provided a new impetus for children's books, particularly humorous poetry and humor. In our nation virtually all poets also write for children but we also have masters who have dedicated all their creativity just to children. This has been correctly appreciated by our Soviet brothers and for this reason our children's and youth literature and particularly our children's poetry have found a significant place in the publishing plans in the USSR. It seems to me that children's poetry merits being considered a literature worthy in ideological and artistic terms and which can and must be published first in our anthologies in foreign languages, upon agreement with the appropriate foreign nation. It seems to me that certain of our publishing houses must reassess their reticence to publish translated poetry for children in Bulgaria. In this regard, the Narodna Mladezh and Bulgarski Khudozhnik publishing houses have done better. It is already time to increase the volume of children's periodicals as well as their periodicity, in publishing them during the summer. It is high time to establish new children's theaters and have good plays. The printing and printing facilities must also be improved.

The success of our international writer meetings which involve writers from the entire world as well as the International "Banner of Peace" Assembly which seeks to develop creative sprouts in all individuals have raised Bulgaria in the eyes of all peoples and oblige us in our creativity to establish an optimistic main hero with a correct view of life, "with the enthusiasm of historical optimism," as Comrade Levchev has said. Let each author seek the strength in himself and according to the degree of his talent give the best that he can.

Vasil Kolevski:

In modern Bulgarian literature processes are occurring the historical significance of which must be analyzed and studied. One of them has been the establishing and development of socialist realism as the basic creative method. In this regard, after Soviet literature, Bulgarian literature is one of the first in the world. And we have every grounds to experience a legitimate national pride. Without idealizing the contemporary literary process, without concealing or playing down the real contradictions and difficulties in it, we cannot help but point out that never in their age-old development have Bulgarian creators been so united and together as at present. Today the Bulgarian writers of all generations have one ideal in life and literature and this is a socialist one. In the name of this ideal, they sketch in the truth of the past and the present and disclose the prospects of the future.

The most creative, most fruitful method for achieving this goal is the method of socialist realism. For this reason, as was pointed out by Comrade T. Zhivkov in his noteworthy speech "More Among the People, Closer to Life," "this is a method of artistically recreating reality from the position of the most progressive theory, Marxism-Leninism, because only from this position at present is it possible to disclose and reflect in an artistic work the entire truth of life, to disclose and show not only external phenomena but also their driving forces, their profound inner meaning and trend of development."

To the honor of our party, its Central Committee and to the creator of its April line, today we can say with joy that during the days of advance and revolutionary romance in the crucial and difficult moments for the communist movement, the BCP has not retreated one iota from its program analysis of socialist realism. Along with the stable economic development of our nation as well as with the loyalty and creative attitude toward Marxist-Leninist ideology, this fact has been the determining one for the establishment and successful development of socialist realism as the basic method in modern Bulgarian literature.

Even D. Blagoev and his associates pointed to justice as well as a class, and to some degree a party, character of proletarian literature, that is, the basic principles of the new method. An inestimable contribution in this regard has been repeatedly emphasized, was made by the literary-theoretical and critical activities of T. Pavlov and G. Bakalov. At the beginning of the 1930's, the proletarian and antifascist progressive writers established their own union, the Union of Militant-Labor Writers, the organizational basis of the new literature.

During the first years after victory, due to the wise policy of the BCP carried out under the leadership of G. Dimitrov, this process of establishing a new method was carried out fruitfully. Unfortunately, this approach and these methods were later to be seriously violated. But at that time the major creators had the decisive word and they created works of socialist realism which have already become classics in our new literature.

The April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee marked the start to that creative upsurge which has characterized our literary life today and which has led to a

liberation from a pat and dogmatic approach in analyzing and applying the principles of socialist realism. Artistic works have been created and are being created which are a true discovery for the literature of the new method and show its infinite possibilities.

Certainly this does not mean that there are no unresolved problems or that there are no differences both in assessing the artistic works as well as in terms of theoretical problems. The important thing is that the Bulgarian creators are permeated by a Gorkian understanding of their work and their creative method.

Dimitur Shumnaliev:

Do we understand the existence of our present optimism? At first glance the question may seem superfluous because the answer is apparent to the naked eye. The society of April Bulgaria proudly stands before the future in order to analyze it and bequeaths it to the coming generations born after us and born from them. It is a question of whether we completely know the torch bearers of our old and tested optimism. Have we honestly peered into the soul of our contemporary and because we have already done this we will not extend a hand to its portrait. It is a question of our pictures.

I feel that the Bulgarian novel has won world citizenship because we have not allowed ourselves to duplicate optimism but rather depict it sincerely and thus, imagining it, to essentially raise it and to some degree even analyze it because we have experienced it. A novel of socialist realism is capable of handing down sentences for social forces but also suffer social truth. It can judge the future of artistic types taken from the life of new April Bulgaria. For this reason after the star of "Under the Yoke," for a long time no other novel shone in the European literary firmament. Just during the socialist decades the Bulgarian novel has reached such a flourishing that no optimist, it seems, could have ever foreseen. The "Tobacco" of Dimitur Dimov now has 45 editions in 16 countries in 20 languages, "Time Divided" of Anton Donchev has gone through 16 editions in 12 countries and 13 languages. In this table of May 1984, following in the ranking are writers such as Andrey Gulyashki, Dimitur Talev, Kamen Kalchev, Vera Mutafchieva, Blaga Dimitrova, Pavel Vezhinov, Gencho Stoev, Bogomil Raynov and others. I feel that for the sake of some humility scarcely necessary in this instance, we do not need to fully publicize our successes. The newspaper NARODNA KULTURA and LITERATUREN FRONT once have written of the remarkable performances of Radichkov's "An Attempt at Flying" in the Soviet nation. For now I will not point out anything more. We, for some reason, are embarrassed to admit that a hot balloon of human hope flew from the Soviet nation across Western Europe to the Wells Theater and returned burdened down with success. At the last book fair in Frankfurt, my friends informed me that of the 10 countries, the most ordinary people, readers and admirers, had read Radichkov, they were interested in his plans and so forth. We, it appears, are embarrassed to admit that we have a world writer! The Bulgarian mass media in my opinion have not reflected fully, with the necessary forms and ideological purpose the presentation of the award of the immortals to Georgi Dzhagarov and few know what a moving ritual accompanied the presentation of the award of the French Academy. Incidentally, I could give other examples

from the works of Lyubomir Levchev, Bogomil Raynov, Slav Khr. Karaslavov and so forth and so forth. We are embarrassed by our successes, people are not made aware of them and how can we profit from this?

#### Decision of Congress

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

#### [Decision of the Fifth SBP Congress]

[Text] The Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Writers' Union has met during the jubilee anniversary of the historic victory of our 9 September revolution. During the four decades of free socialist construction, Bulgarian literature, renewed and reborn for new life, has achieved high ideological and artistic peaks. With joy and pride we note that during the period between the Fourth and Fifth SBP Congresses, our artistic literature has made progress in the right direction, that the basic trends in its development were democratic and that historical optimism was at the essence of the innovative, revolutionary thinking of the Bulgarian writer.

The creators of the artistic word, united closely around the April BCP Central Committee and using the abundant opportunities of the socialist realism method and the beneficial experience of Soviet writers, have worked with heart and mind to carry out the responsible demands posed by our times and by our socialist reality.

The decisions of the 12th BCP Congress have been the guiding principles of the SBP and in the personal creativity of the masters of the artistic word. Invaluable has been the significance of the new theoretical concepts of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and exceptionally important was his lecture "On the Place and Role of the Spiritual Sphere in Building a Developed Socialist Society in Bulgaria" given to the faculty and students of the AONSU [Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration]. The principles in these new vivid, innovative ideas open up new spiritual prospects for the creators and are a dependable point of departure and criterion for us both in emphasizing the successes as well as disclosing the shortcomings in our daily work.

Our first party and state leader drew serious attention to such unresolved problems as the questions of the remoteness of the heroes from the life of our society in certain works, the incomplete presentation of the positive hero of our times, the conscious or unconscious deheroization as well as the necessity of a further creative strengthening of the editors of the Union publications and the Bulgarski Pisatel Publishing House.

As a result of the constant concern shown by the party Central Committee and the purposeful efforts of all creators, the SBP has achieved good results in its diverse activities. A good atmosphere has been established for unleashing strengths and capabilities of all generations of writers.

In its report to its writers' conscience, to the party and the people, the SBP has affirmed the dynamic, fruitful development of our socialist realist literature. Once again it was emphasized that by tradition our literature is



democratic, politicized and revolutionary. That the essential feature of its past and its present is an inspiration by historical optimism.

In the work of the SBP, the necessity has constantly been pointed to of creating new works on contemporary subjects and which will contain a positive and categorical solution to the main problems of our society and our development. The successes along this path have always been and will always be tied to creating a vivid positive hero, a communist hero who is boldly, ardently and honestly sketched. In its very essence, the literature of socialist realism must lead to tomorrow. It contains the enthusiasm of intense daily life and itself adds inspiration to the inspired ordinary days of real socialism. Talented and masterful execution of this task can be seen in works of different genres.

In the past period, the concern for the development of literary criticism has been constant and principled. This was most apparent in the April literary discussions where a complete and profound appraisal was made of the creative works of the writers in the spirit of an uncompromising disclosure of shortcomings.

In line with the major national holidays--the 1300th anniversary of the founding of our state and the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution--a profound assessment of what has been achieved was made.

In the diverse and beneficial sociopolitical activities of the SBP, a special place is held by the international writers' meetings "Peace--The Hope of the Planet." At present, Bulgarian writers, along with all the people and all honest persons in the world, are making every effort to preserve the greatest good in the world, peace. During these alarming times, Bulgarian writers by word and deed are supporting the fundamental, constructive proposals of Comrade Konstantin Chernenko to preserve peace as well as the appeal of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to turn the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

After a careful analysis and assessment of what was done during the previous period and in conformity with the tasks which our party is carrying out at the present stage, the Fifth Congress has set the following most important areas in the activities of the SBP and its members:

In the following years, Bulgarian literature is to continue to develop as a literature of historical optimism and its core in the future will be the faithful depiction of the socialist way of life, the inspiration of socialist construction and the leading role of the BCP.

The future leadership of the SBP, along with the Bureau of the Primary Party Organizations as well as all Bulgarian writers, are to initiate a series of measures to improve the ideological and artistic qualities of the literary works, in conducting a systematic, uncompromising struggle against ideologically and aesthetically unsound and undistinguished works. There is to be a sharp improvement in the work of the publishing house and the editors, those "work areas," where in the words of Comrade Zhivkov a writers' work is realized. Let us not forget that the answer to the most stirring, the most cherished question, the question of the fate of our books, their place today and tomorrow,

in today's and the future century, depends upon the quality of the work of the writer and editor today, upon the climate, responsibility and talent of our writer milieu. Let the best of these "work areas" be turned into the launching pads for the great literature of the future.

Special emphasis is to be put on the unity of the ideological and aesthetic principle, the organicness of the political position of the writer and his professional ability. A struggle must be continued against the attempts to deheroize our great, creative time. In their daily work the writers are to endeavor to correctly depict the image of our contemporary, the positive hero of our times.

The appeal to more closely and permanently link the writers with life, as emphasized in the most recent ideas of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, is to find a place in the forthcoming plans of the SBP, in utilizing new, more effective ways to direct the writers to "the labor and spiritual world of the heroes of life."

The prestige of the April literary discussions is to be further raised and the future a healthy atmosphere of principled criticism and self-criticism is to be maintained.

Particular attention is to be given to the creative activeness of the writers during the period of preparations for the 13th Party Congress, a time for mature accomplishments in all spheres of life, a time of sober assessment and inspiration, a time for taking stock.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee and other noteworthy anniversaries, the SBP, the publications and publishing house are to work out specific programs to commemorate these important dates of our more recent and more remote history.

In the future energetic activities are to be continued related to the international writer meetings "Peace--The Hope of the Planet," constant ties are to be maintained with the writers from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with progressive writers from all countries, meetings are to be organized with Soviet and other critics, scientific sessions on the key problems of literature and so forth.

Measures are to be taken to bring to life the creative sections and societies of writers in the nation, with the new leadership working out specific plans which will set assignments stemming from the decisions of the Fifth SBP Congress. The leadership of the sections is to maintain close ties with the Office of the Young Writer.

Concern for the young creators in the entire nation will be even more effective in applying in practice the recommendations of Comrade Todor Zhivkov given in his speech at the Third Conference of Young Literary Creators in Boyana, 1977. Young creative gifts are to be furthered both in their ideological and political growth as well as in increasing their professional ability. Activist talented young writers and critics are to be involved in editorial work.

The results of the Fifth SBP Congress will be measured primarily by the fruits of our work, by the inspiration, enthusiasm and maturity of our future works. In being the agent of revolutionary thought and energy, of the victorious historical optimism of our contemporary, our literature has the challenge of depicting the immortal heroes of today and itself being such a hero.

Greeting to Party Central Committee

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

Dear Comrades:

From the rostrum of their congress, the Bulgarian writers send you their ardent greetings and most heartfelt wishes for the ongoing flourishing of socialist Bulgaria.

The highest forum of our creative organization is being held in the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution. This greatest holiday for every Bulgarian heart is being turned into an assessment of the innumerable creative undertakings of the Bulgarian under the party banner. During the period between the Fourth and Fifth SBP Congresses, we have paid our profound respect to such noteworthy events as the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, the centennial birthday of Georgi Dimitrov, the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR and the 60th anniversary of the September Uprising in 1923. These anniversaries have led us to analyze once again the historic fate of our people and inspired us to dedicate new works to them.

The guiding principle in the activities of the Union between the two congresses have been the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and its appeals for us to work for a constant "increase in the ideological and creative level of the creative works, for creating works which by their profound socialist content and national uniqueness will be of lasting general human importance."

The National Party Conference on the problems of quality, the speech of the General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council Todor Zhivkov at the 14th Komsomol Congress and his lectures to the students and faculty of the AONSU have given rise to many ideas for enriching our literary life.

The four report years have again shown that the works of Bulgarian writers are inspired by the successes of the people and by the ideas and goals of a socialist society. The creation of the fighting positive man of life as the main hero of literature and the systematic application of a class-party approach to the creation and assessment of artistic works are the initial criteria for our creative endeavors.

The main report and statements during the Fifth SBP Congress have been focused on naturally arising questions concerning historical optimism in our literary work. The demands set out in the thesis of Comrade Todor Zhivkov concerning

"a new revolutionary approach in thought and action" are of crucial significance for us and open up new prospects for creativity.

The indisputed successes of our writer collective have been inspired by the creative spirit of the April party policy which is a brilliant example of innovative daring and communist aggressiveness in all areas of life. Bulgarian literature more and more is establishing its reputation both in our nation as well as among its fans in many countries. We are proud that in these alarming days of our present world our Union has become the initiator and organizer of traditional international meetings and these have gained the reputation of a world writer movement for peace. In the future we will not spare our efforts to further unite the honest creators from all ends of the world for the sake of further construction and the happiness of others.

With particular joy and satisfaction we can state that we, the Bulgarian writers, united around the April line of our glorious party and inspired by the full support of its Central Committee and by the consideration and responsiveness of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, will fight just as wholeheartedly to improve our creativity in order to carry out our civil duty to the party and people and to all progressive mankind.

From the Fifth Congress  
of the Bulgarian Writers' Union

New Administrative Council, Other Bodies

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] SBP Administrative Council

Angel Todorov	Dobri Zhotov
Andrey Gulyashki	Ekaterina Yosifova
Aleksandur Karasimeonov	Elisaveta Bagryana
Asen Bosev	Evtim Evtimov
Atanas Nakovski	Emil Petrov
Bogomil Raynov	Efrem Karanfilov
Bozhidar Bozhilov	Zdravko Petrov
Borislav Gerontiev	Ivan Arzhentinski
Boyan Balabanov	Ivan Granitski
Veselin Andreev	Ivan Davidkov
Veselin Yosifov	Ivan Martinov
Vasil Kolevski	Ivan Metodiev
Venko Markovski	Ivan Popivanov
Vera Mutaftchieva	Ivan Ruzh
Valentin Karamanchev	Ivan Tsetkov
Vladimir Golev	Yordan Radichkov
Gencho Stoev	Kamen Zidarov
Georgi Konstantinov	Kamen Kalchev
Georgi Svezhin	Kostadin Kyulyumov
Dimitur Gulev	Leda Mileva
Dimitur Metodiev	Lilyana Stefanova
Diko Fuchedzhiev	Lyubomir Levchev

[SBP Administrative Council continued]

Luchezar Elenkov  
Matey Shopkin  
Milko Milkov  
Mladen Isaev  
Nedyalko Yordanov  
Nikola Rusev  
Nikolay Zidarov  
Nikolay Petev  
Nikolay Khaytov  
Nikolay Khristozov  
Orlin Orlinov

Pavel Matev  
Panteley Zarev  
Pencho Danchev  
Petur Dinekov  
Petur Karaangov  
Petur Anastasov  
Simeon Sultanov  
Slav Khr. Karaslavov  
Stefan Prodev  
Toncho Zhechev  
Khristo Stefanov

Bureau of Administrative Council

Chairman: Lyubomir Levchev

First Deputy Chairman: Bogomil Raynov

Deputy Chairmen: Andrey Gulyashki  
Efrem Karanfilov  
Yordan Radichkov  
Kamen Kalchev

Lilyana Stefanova  
Mladen Isaev  
Slav Khr. Karaslavov

Chief Secretary: Luchezar Elenkov

Secretaries: Aleksandur Karasimeonov  
Vera Mutaftchieva  
Ivan Popivanov  
Matey Shopkin

Milko Milkov  
Nikolay Petev  
Petur Anastasov

Bureau Members: Georgi Konstantinov  
Evtim Evtimov  
Vladimir Golev  
Bozhidar Bozhilov

Nikola Rusev  
Petur Karaangov  
Panteley Zarev  
Simeon Sultanov

SBP Auditing Commission

Aleksandur Muratov  
Armand Barukh  
Boris Krumov  
Vanya Petkova  
Georgi Strumski  
Gercho Atanasov  
Dimitur Panteleev  
Zdravko Cholakov  
Ivan Milchev  
Kalin Donkov  
Kol'o Sevov  
Krum Grigorov

Miron Ivanov  
Mitko Yavorski  
Petur Dimitrov-Rudar  
Petur Neznakomov, Chairman  
Rusi Bozhanov  
Slavcho Vasev  
Stanislav Sivriev  
Stefan Dichev  
Stefan Tsanev  
Stanislav Stratiev  
Todor Genov  
Rosen Vasilev

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CSO: 2200/89

BULGARIA

AGREEMENT FOR LEGAL COOPERATION WITH REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 15 Jan 85 pp 26-32

[Treaty of the Ministry of Justice Concerning Legal Aid on Civil and Criminal Cases Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Cyprus; ratified by Ukase No 1792 of the State Council of 17 June 1983; promulgated in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 49 of 1983. The treaty comes into effect on 11 January 1985]

[Text] The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the President of the Republic of Cyprus, in giving great significance to collaboration between the two nations in the legal area, have resolved to conclude a treaty on legal aid for civil and criminal cases and for this purpose have set as their representatives:

The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria--Svetla Daskalova, Minister of Justice.

The President of the Republic of Cyprus--Phoebus Clerides, Minister of Justice, who, after the exchange of their credentials which were in regular and proper form, have agreed on the following:

Part I: General Provisions

CHAPTER 1: LEGAL DEFENSE AND LEGAL AID

Article 1: Legal Defense

1. The citizens of one contracting party on the territory of the other contracting party are to have the same legal defense for their personal and property rights as the citizens of the other party.
2. Citizens of one contracting party can appear before the court bodies of the other contracting party, they can initiate cases and can appeal before these bodies under the same conditions as the citizens of the other party.
3. The provisions of this treaty are to be applied mutatis mutandis also to legal entities which have their headquarters on the territory of one of the two contracting parties and are established in accord with its laws.

## Article 2: Legal Aid

1. The organs of justice of the two contracting parties are to provide legal aid on civil and criminal cases.
2. For the purposes of this treaty, the term "organs of justice" means every court or corresponding other body which under law of the appropriate contracting party has competence on the cases which are the subject of this treaty.
3. For the purposes of this treaty, the term "civil cases" is to include also commercial and family cases.

## Article 3: The Scope of Legal Aid

The two contracting parties are to provide legal aid by performing various procedural actions, such as: sending out and presenting summonses and other documents, searches, inquests, confiscation and turning over of material evidence, interrogation of witnesses, experts and accused, including hearing explanations of the parties and other persons involved in the cases.

## Article 4

1. In applying this treaty, the organs of justice of the contracting parties are to maintain contact through their central bodies providing nothing else is stipulated in this treaty.
2. For the purposes of this treaty, the central bodies are:
  - a) For the People's Republic of Bulgaria--the Ministry of Justice and the Main Procurator;
  - b) For the Republic of Cyprus--the Ministry of Justice.
3. In their reciprocal ties the organs of justice of the contracting parties are to employ their national language, if the acts and documents which are to be exchanged have been translated into the language of the requested country or into English.

## Article 5: The Content of a Request for Legal Aid

1. A request for the providing of legal aid is to contain:
  - a) The name of the requesting organ;
  - b) The name of the requested body;
  - c) Instructions on the nature of the case on which legal aid is sought;
  - d) The names, addresses, occupation and citizenship of the parties, the accused, suspects, condemned, witnesses and other persons mentioned in the request for legal aid;

- e) Names and addresses of the representatives of the parties, if there are such;
  - f) The subject of the request for legal aid and the necessary data to carry it out;
  - g) On criminal cases--a description and determination of the nature of the crime.
2. The requests for legal aid must be signed and sealed by the appropriate competent body.

#### Article 6: Execution of a Request for Legal Aid

1. In carrying out a request for legal aid, the requested body applies its national legislation.
2. If the requested body is not competent to carry out a request for legal aid, it immediately turns this over to the corresponding competent body and notifies the requesting body of this.
3. If the exact address of the person mentioned in the request for legal aid is unknown, the requested body undertakes the necessary to establish the address; in the impossibility of carrying out a request for legal aid the documents are to be returned to the requesting organ.
4. The requested organ upon demand in the shortest period of time is to inform the requesting organ on the place and time of carrying out the request for legal aid.
5. After carrying out the request for legal aid, the requested organ returns the documents of the requesting body and if the request could not be carried out, explains the reasons which have prevented this.
6. In instances when the addressee has died, the requested side returns the documents of the requesting side, in providing the names of his heirs or successor, the executors of the will or the administrators of the hereditary property, if there is such.

#### Article 7: Presentation of a Document

A requested organ may carry out a presentation, if the documents which must be presented are drawn up in the language of the requested party or are accompanied by a notarized translation of this language. Otherwise, the documents are presented to the addressee only if he has agreed to receive them.

#### Article 8: Verification of Presentation

1. The presentation of documents is carried out against a receipt signed by the person to whom the document has been presented as well as signed and sealed by the organ which has carried out the presentation, with the date of presentation.



2. Documents verifying presentation must be immediately sent to the requesting party. If presentation cannot be effected, the requested party immediately describes the reasons for this.

#### Article 9: Presentation of Documents of Own Citizens

The contracting parties have the right to present documents to the citizens of their own country through their diplomatic or consular agencies. In these instances, measures of force cannot be applied.

#### Article 10: Protection of Witnesses and Experts

1. A witness or an expert who appears before an organ of the requested contracting party after summoning upon the request of the organ of justice of the requesting side, regardless of his citizenship, cannot be subjected to criminal prosecution or the serving of a sentence for a committed crime or imposed sentence before the person has crossed the frontier of the requesting contracting party.

2. The immunity stipulated in Paragraph 1 of this article is lifted if the witness or expert has not left the territory of the requesting party within a period of 7 days from the day on which the body which has summoned him informs him that his presence is no longer required. The time during which the witness or expert was unable to leave the territory of this contracting party for reasons which do not depend upon him is not to be included in the above-mentioned time.

#### Article 11: Expenses for Providing Legal Aid

1. The requested party is not to seek payment of expenses for providing legal aid. Each of the contracting parties assumes all expenses which arise in this context on its territory.

2. The requested organ notifies the requesting organ of the amount of expenses. If the organ from which the petition derived collects these expenses from the person who is obliged to pay them, the total amount remains to the contracting party the organ of which collected the amount.

#### Article 12: Information on Legal Questions

1. Upon request, the contracting parties reciprocally inform one another on their legislation which is or was in effect on their territory and provide a copy of the texts of this legislation.

2. A request for information must indicate the organ from which it originated as well as the nature of the occasion for which the information is requested. Copies of the documents which are necessary for establishing the essence of the request can be appended to the petition.

#### Article 13: Refusal of Legal Aid

Legal aid can be refused:

- a) If the request relates to a crime which the requested contracting party considers as a political crime;
- b) If the requested contracting party feels that the carrying out of the request for legal aid runs counter to the basic principles of its legislation or can harm its sovereignty, security or public order.

#### Article 14: Validity of Documents

1. Documents issued and verified in the established form, attached with the official seal of the competent state organ or official of one of the contracting parties do not require legalization on the territory of the other contracting party. The same applies to a signature on private documents notarized by officials of one of the contracting parties.
2. Documents considered as official on the territory of one of the contracting parties have probative value of official documents on the territory of the other contracting party.

#### Article 15: The Establishing of Addresses and Other Data

1. If an organ of justice of one contracting party receives a claim for support against a person residing on the territory of the other contracting party, the organ upon request provides help in establishing the source and amount of income of that person.
2. If doubt arises on the citizenship of the given individual in line with the application of this contract, upon request from one of the contracting parties, the other notifies it whether the questioned person is its citizen.

### CHAPTER 2: THE EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS OF CIVIL STATUS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

#### Article 16

1. The contracting parties reciprocally provide each other with copies of statements of civil status concerning births, marriages and deaths of the citizens of one contracting party residing on the territory of the other contracting party as well as information on supplements and amendments made in these papers.
2. All statements on civil status and the amendments and supplements made in them are to be forwarded officially and gratis by diplomatic means by the competent organ of the appropriate contracting party.

#### Article 17

The competent organs of the contracting parties reciprocally send one another copies of court decisions which have come into force as well as other enactments relating to changes in civil status of the citizens from the other contracting party.

## CHAPTER 3: COURT COSTS

### Article 18: Release From Paying Security of Judicatum Solvi

Citizens from one of the contracting parties who appear before the court of the other party, if they reside in one of the two countries, cannot be obliged to put up a security of judicatum solvi because they may be foreigners or do not reside on the territory of this country where trial is pending.

### Article 19: Release From the Payment of Fees

Citizens of one contracting party are to be released on the territory of the other party from paying fees and court costs and are to receive good conditions and free legal defense under the same conditions and in the same amounts as citizens of the appropriate country.

### Article 20

1. The release provided in Article 19 of this treaty is granted on the basis of a statement of the personal and property status of the petitioner. The statement is drawn up by the competent organ of the contracting party on whose territory the requestor resides.
2. If the place of residence of the requestor who desires to receive the concessions under Article 19 is outside the territory of the contracting parties, the statement can be issued by the diplomatic or consular agency in the country where that person resides.
3. The organ reviewing the release request can seek additional information and details from the organ which has issued the statement.

### Article 21

If a citizen of one of the contracting parties desires to receive the release under Article 19 of this treaty and wishes to make a request to the competent organ of the other contracting party, he can submit a request to the competent organ at his place of residence. If the requestor resides outside the territory of the two contracting parties, he can submit a request through the diplomatic or consular agency in the nation where he resides. These bodies forward the request along with a statement drawn up in accord with Article 20 of this treaty to the competent organ of the other contracting party.

### Article 22

If the competent organ grants the release provided in Article 19 of this treaty for a citizen of the other contracting party, the concessions are valid for the entire trial, including the procedures involved in carrying out the decision or ruling.

### Article 23: Payment of Expenses on Final Rulings

1. If a party in a case who has been freed from putting up security for court costs, on the basis of Article 18 of this treaty, due to the final ruling or

instructions of the organ of justice of one of the contracting parties is obliged to pay the court costs of the other side in the trial, this decision, upon the request of the interested party, is carried out gratis on the territory of the other contracting party.

2. Court costs also include expenses related to translation and notarization of documents as indicated in Article 24.

#### Article 24: A Request for Restitution of Expenses

1. To a request granting the execution of a ruling on expenses, one should append a notarized copy of the ruling concerning court costs and an official statement from which one can see that this decision has gone into effect and is to be carried out.

2. The documents in Paragraph 1 are to be accompanied by a translation in English or in the language of the contracting party on whose territory the collecting of the expenses is to be carried out.

3. The court which grants the execution of a decision to collect court costs must establish that:

- a) The ruling has gone into force and is to be carried out;
- b) The documents have been translated into the language of the contracting party on whose territory the fulfillment is sought, or in English.

#### Part II: Recognition and Execution of Court Decisions

##### Article 25

Each of the contracting parties is obliged to recognize and permit on its territory the carrying out of the following rulings issued on the territory of the other side:

- a) The court rulings which have come into effect and are to be carried out relating to civil cases as well as court-approved agreements on such cases;
- b) Sentences of criminal courts in effect and to be carried out and relating to compensation for losses;
- c) Arbitration decisions and agreements reached before arbitration.

##### Article 26

The decisions mentioned in Article 25 of this treaty are recognized and their execution is permitted, if:

- a) The decision has come into effect and its fulfillment is permitted under the laws of the contracting party on whose territory it was issued;

- b) The case does not fall under the exclusive competence of the organs of the contracting party on whose territory the recognition and granting of execution are done;
- c) The person against whom the decision has been handed down and who did not participate in the trial was properly summoned under the procedure stipulated by the laws of the contracting party on whose territory the decision was handed down and he was granted sufficient time to appear to defend himself and in the event of incapacitation was appropriately represented;
- d) The decision was not contrary to a previous ruling handed down between the same parties for the same suit and on the same grounds by the court of the contracting party on the territory of which fulfillment must be carried out;
- e) Between the same parties, for the same suit and on the same grounds there is no pending trial before the organ of the requested contracting party preceding that for which the ruling was granted and execution is sought;
- f) The recognition and fulfillment of the ruling do not violate the basic legislative principles, sovereignty, security and public order of the requested country.

#### Article 27

Rulings of arbitration courts are recognized and their execution is permitted under the procedure provided in Article 26 of this treaty, if:

- a) The ruling is based on an agreement in written form on the competence of the arbitration court and has been handed down by the arbitration court mentioned in the agreement within the competence granted it by the agreement;
- b) An agreement on the competence of an arbitration court is valid according to the laws of the contracting party on whose territory recognition and granting of execution are sought.

#### Article 28

1. A request for recognition of a ruling and the granting of its execution can be submitted or done by the interested party or according to the procedure outlined in Article 4 of this treaty before the competent court organ of the contracting party on whose territory the ruling must be recognized or execution granted.

2. A request for recognizing or granting the execution of a ruling must be submitted within the time stipulated in the law of the contracting party on whose territory the recognition or permission is sought.

3. The request must be accompanied by:

- a) The text of the court ruling or a notarized copy of it verifying that the ruling is in effect or is to be carried out, if this is not understood by the text of the ruling itself;

b) A document verifying that the party against whom the decision has been handed down, even though not involved in the case, was promptly summoned and was given sufficient time to participate in the case in accord with the law of the contracting party on whose territory the ruling was handed down and in the event of incapacitation was properly represented;

c) A notarized translation of the request and the documents indicated in points "a" and "b" of this article, in the language of the requested contracting party or in English.

#### Article 29

1. The court body granting a request to recognize or permit fulfillment is constrained by this to verify whether the conditions designated in Articles 26, 27 and 28 of this treaty have been met. The ruling is handed down by the competent court organ of the contracting party on whose territory the recognition or execution of the ruling is to be granted.

2. The court body of the contracting party on whose territory the ruling is recognized or its execution permitted is to apply the legislation of its own state.

#### Part III: Criminal Cases

##### CHAPTER 1

#### Article 30

1. The contracting parties are obliged, upon request, to initiate, in accord with their legislation, criminal prosecution against their citizens which have committed a crime on the territory of the other contracting party and for which extradition is permitted according to the provisions of this treaty.

2. The request to initiate a criminal prosecution must be accompanied by the required documents. In the event that these are not sufficient, additional information is sent upon the request of the contracting party initiating the criminal prosecution.

3. The request to initiate a criminal prosecution is made by the Chief Prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and by the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic of Cyprus.

4. The contracting party which initiates a criminal prosecution is to notify the other contracting party of the result of the request to initiate prosecution as rapidly as possible. If a judgment has been handed down, upon request, a copy of it is forwarded after it has come into force.

#### Article 31: Announcement of the Result of a Criminal Prosecution

1. The contracting parties inform one another of all convictions and subsequent measures imposed by the courts of one contracting party on the citizens of the other contracting party.

2. On the basis of a valid request, the contracting parties are to inform one another of the convictions handed down against persons who are not citizens of the requesting contracting party.

3. The contracting parties, whenever possible, are to forward, upon request, fingerprints of the persons designated in Paragraphs 1 and 2.

#### Article 32: Criminal Records

The organs of justice of one contracting party, upon the request of the organs of justice of the other contracting party, are to turn over criminal records.

### CHAPTER 2: EXTRADITION

#### Article 33: The Obligation of Extradition

1. The contracting parties are obliged, in agreement with the provisions of this treaty, to extradite all persons who are on their territory for holding criminally liable or for serving a sentence imposed by the court body of the requesting contracting party.

2. Extradition is granted for crimes punishable under the law of the requesting and requested party with deprivation of liberty for at least 1 year or with a severer punishment.

3. Extradition for serving a punishment is required only for those actions which are punishable under the law of the two contracting parties and if the person in question has been condemned for such actions and has been deprived of liberty for a period of at least 1 year or a severer sentence.

#### Article 34: Refusal of Extradition

1. Extradition is not permitted if:

- a) The crime is considered to be political by the requested party or is involved with a political crime;
- b) During the receipt of the request for extradition, the person whose extradition is sought has become a citizen of the requested side;
- c) The criminal action was committed on the territory of the requested country;
- d) According to the laws of the requested country, criminal prosecution cannot be initiated or the punishment cannot be carried out, because the person, due to the lapsing of the statute of limitations, cannot be criminally prosecuted or the sentence imposed on him cannot be carried out;
- e) A person whose extradition is sought was condemned with a sentence in effect by the competent organs of the requested contracting party for the same action or actions for which extradition is sought or if they have decided not to initiate criminal prosecution or to halt an initiated criminal prosecution for one and the same action;

f) According to the legislation of one of the contracting parties, criminal prosecution is to be initiated upon the plea of the injured party.

2. Extradition for military crimes which are not crimes under ordinary criminal legislation is excluded from the sphere of application of this treaty.

#### Article 35: Request for Extradition

1. A request for extradition must be in a written form and must be transmitted by diplomatic means.

2. A request for extradition must contain the family name of the individual whose extradition is sought, his citizenship, date and place of birth, residence or place of sojourn, data on the nature of the crime and the damage caused by it as well as the amount of this.

3. The request must be accompanied by:

a) A notarized copy of the order for arrest or another document of the same validity;

b) A description of the crimes for which extradition is sought. The time and place of their perpetration, a legal description of them and the text of the appropriate legal provisions must be indicated as precisely as possible;

c) If extradition is sought for carrying out an imposed punishment it is essential to have a notarized copy of the sentence which is in effect. If the person has served a portion of the sentence, this must be indicated;

d) A description of the appearance of the individual and if possible his fingerprints, his photograph and other data which will aid in establishing his identity and citizenship.

#### Article 36: Arrest for Extradition

If the demand for extradition is sufficiently valid from the standpoint of this treaty, the requested party, in accord with the provisions of its legislation, is to take immediate measures to arrest the individual whose extradition is sought.

#### Article 37: Temporary Arrest

1. In an event which does not allow delay, the requested contracting party can begin to arrest the individual before receiving the request for his extradition, if the requesting contracting party explicitly insists on this and notifies the requested party that it has issued an order for the arrest of the individual or another document having the same legal force or that it has passed sentence which is in effect. In this instance the request for temporary arrest can be forwarded by diplomatic means or directly by telephone, telegraph or other means leaving a written record or accepted by the requested party.



2. The requesting party is informed immediately of the result of the request.

#### Article 38: Release of a Temporarily Arrested Person

A person arrested according to Article 37 of this treaty is to be released if the request for extradition has not been received by the time stipulated by the requested country and not later than 1 month from the day of arrest.

#### Article 39: Additional Information

1. If the information sent by the requesting party is insufficient for the requested party to take a decision to carry out the assumed obligations under this treaty, it can request that it be forwarded additional information within a time no longer than 14 days. Upon request, this period can be extended with valid reason.

2. If the requested party does not present the sought information within the period designated by the request, the requested nation has the right to release the arrested individual.

#### Article 40: Deferment of Extradition

If a person whose extradition is sought has been held criminally liable or is serving a sentence for another crime perpetrated on the territory of the requested party, extradition can be deferred until the conclusion of the criminal prosecution, until the sentence has been served or until temporary deferment or pardoning from the punishment.

#### Article 41: Requests From Several States for Extradition

If the extradition of one individual is sought simultaneously by several states for the same or for different crimes, the requested party takes a decision, bearing in mind all the circumstances and particularly the seriousness of the perpetrated crime, the place of its perpetration, the dates of the requests for extradition, the citizenship of the individual and the possibility of subsequent extradition of the individual by another state.

#### Article 42: Limits of Criminal Prosecution of Extradited Individuals

1. Without the agreement of the requested contracting party, an extradited person cannot be held criminally liable or serve a sentence for another crime perpetrated prior to extradition except for the one that extradition was granted.

2. Without the approval of the requested party, an extradited person cannot be extradited to a third state.

3. Agreement of the requested party is not necessary, if:

a) The extradited person has not left the territory of the requesting contracting party in a period of 1 month after the concluding of criminal prosecution or the serving of a sentence. This period does not include the time during which the extradited person was unable to leave the territory of the requesting contracting party for reasons independent of him;

b) The extradited individual has left the territory of the requesting contracting party and returned voluntarily to this territory.

#### Article 43: Extradition of an Individual

1. The requested contracting party is to notify the requesting contracting party of the place and date of extradition.
2. If the requesting contracting party does not receive the individual within a period of 15 days after the stipulated extradition date, the individual can be released.
3. If for circumstances independent of it one of the two parties is prevented from extraditing or receiving the individual, it can seek an extension of the time from the other contracting party.

#### Article 44: Repeat Extradition

If the extradited person for any reason avoids criminal prosecution or the serving of a sentence and returns to the territory of the requested contracting party, he must be re-extradited without submission of the documents indicated in Article 35 of this treaty.

#### Article 45: Notification of the Results of Criminal Prosecution

The requesting contracting party is to notify the requested contracting party of the results of the criminal prosecution against the extradited individual. If a sentence has been handed down against the extradited individual, a copy of it is to be forwarded as soon as it goes into effect.

#### Article 46: Extradition Expenses

The expenses related to extradition are to be assumed by the contracting party on whose territory they occurred. Expenses for transporting the individual from the place of extradition are at the expense of the requesting contracting party.

#### Article 47: Extradition of Property

1. Any articles belonging to a person accused of committing a crime for which extradition is permitted in accord with this treaty as well as all other articles utilized by this person, property acquired as a result of the crime and all other articles which can be employed as evidence are to be turned over to the requesting contracting party.
2. Not to be extradited are the articles the export of which is not permitted under the legislation of the requested party.
3. The requested contracting party can temporarily defer extradition of the sought articles if these are essential for another criminal prosecution.

4. The rights of third parties to extradited articles are not affected. After conclusion of the criminal prosecution they are to be returned to the party from which they were sent in order to be turned over to the individuals who have the right to them.

#### Part IV: Concluding Provisions

##### Article 48

1. This treaty is subject to ratification. Ratification documents will be exchanged in Sofia.

2. This document is to come into effect on the 30th day from the exchange of ratification documents.

##### Article 49

This treaty is to be concluded for an indefinite time. Each of the contracting parties can denounce it in writing by diplomatic means. Denunciation comes into effect 6 months from the receipt of notification of this.

Drawn up in Nicosia on 29 April 1983 in two original copies in English and the two texts have equal force.

In affirmation of which the representatives of the two contracting parties have signed and affixed their seal to this treaty.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria:  
Svetla Daskalova

For the Republic of Cyprus:  
Phoebus Clerides

10272

CSO: 2200/109

BULGARIA

PRAVDA EDITORIAL STRESSING DISCIPLINE, DEMOCRACY REPRINTED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jan 85 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Without Discipline and Strong Public Order, Democracy Is Merely a Fine Phrase"]

[Text] Moscow. 18 January (BTA [Bulgarian Telegraph Agency]).  
"Among the crucial problems of the modern strategy and tactics of the CPSU, a basic place is held by increasing the guiding role of the party as the core of the political system in our society and as the driving force in the development of socialist democracy," wrote the newspaper PRAVDA today in an editorial.

"Communists are led by the view that socialism realizes its advantages through democracy. True, effective, actual democracy which gives a right to everyone and obliges everyone to work actively as the master of the country--this is an extraordinarily important task for all our party's policy and an effective means for its resolution. Without such democracy socialism is inconceivable and complete and consistently realized democracy is inconceivable without socialism."

In an article entitled "The Party and the Deepening of Socialist Democracy" published under the heading "Before the 27th CPSU Congress," it states:  
"Socialist democracy affirms social development. In conformity with this, the CPSU has been constantly concerned not only with extending the rights and liberties of the citizens but also that conditions be created so that these are effectively and really used by each citizen."

It is clear that our socialist democracy is incompatible with anarchistic arbitrariness, with the attempts to oppose the rights and freedoms of the citizens to their obligations, democracy against discipline, the newspaper emphasized.

In following the legacy of Lenin, the CPSU sees in discipline a form of a social tie between people which is not contradictory but, conversely, organically complements democracy and is a prerequisite for its realization. Discipline is an important means for carrying out the interests of the majority, the will of the party and the people in practice. Without discipline and strong public order,

democracy is merely a fine phrase. But certainly, discipline must not impede initiative. The party is against any attempts to replace conscious discipline and organization with mechanical execution, it is against eliminating the humane essence of socialist democracy. International experience convincingly shows all the danger of political relapses into so-called barracks communism based upon a degrading criticism of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. This has nothing in common with the ideology and policy of a Leninist-type communist party.

The opportunities for an even greater development of democracy in the stage of developed socialism are greater than ever before, and as socialism improves so these opportunities are widened, PRAVDA stresses.

The article went on to emphasize that the constructive possibilities of socialist democracy are to be realized through the political system of Soviet society which unites the party and people into one. It is emphasized that the CPSU has shown concern that the soviets and trade unions, the Komsomol and people's control, the labor collectives and the system as a whole be up to the requirements of the stage being lived through and respond to the constantly growing political awareness and initiative of the masses.

In continuing to seek out ever more effective forms of democracy, the CPSU feels that the full power of the soviets, affirmed in the USSR Constitution, must be given a constant and ubiquitous expression both in the content as well as in the style of their activities.

At the stage of developed socialism, the article points out, the role of trade unions has been rising. The experience of world socialism has convincingly shown how invalid and dangerous is the thesis of the "freedom" and "independence" of the trade unions from the party, as this has been constantly reiterated by the ideological enemy. Precisely party leadership helps them most successfully perform their functions, to rise above narrow professional interests and escape from formalism in work.

In setting the example of true democracy, the CPSU in every possible way is strengthening the creative atmosphere and full freedom in discussing the key problems in all levels of the party, in all its organizations, the article emphasizes.

The CPSU has consistently endeavored to make all the party members unswervingly respect the democratic procedures adopted in it and the discipline which is strict and uniform for all communists. In the party no one has the right to disregard the democratic standards of party friendship or the prescribed rights of internal party relations or to overlook social tasks. Never admitted are those who show disdain and arrogance and who seek to put themselves above others or outside of criticism. An atmosphere must be created whereby the slightest deviation from the standards of party ethics the smallest infraction of socialist legality always be correspondingly judged by the party masses and by the superior bodies. Any attempts to apply pressure and particularly to pursue criticism must be checked, the article emphasized.

BULGARIA

REASONS FOR ACUTE SHORTAGE OF AGRICULTURAL SPECIALISTS

Sofia KOOPERATIVNO SELO in Bulgarian 19 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ivan Mikhov: "Appeals Will Not Help"]

[Text] With your active aid, dear readers, for 2 months now we have been continuing on the pages of our newspaper a debate concerning the importance and place of specialists in agriculture.

Today sharing his opinions and proposals on the problems raised is Senior Science Associate, Candidate of Agricultural Sciences Ivan Mikhov, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Okrug People's Council and chairman of the OAPS [Okrug Agroindustrial Union] in Burgas.

The interest caused by the material "Don't Leave, Agronomist," is very natural because it touches upon one of the most important problems in agriculture, the state of our personnel. This question has always been pressing but today it is of particularly important significance.

Accelerated intensification and the rapid introduction of scientific and technical progress more than ever before have forced agricultural production to be managed by skilled specialists who have high social regard and recognition for their labor. The new approach in the development of our farming with the ever greater employment of biotechnologies, an integrated agroecological evaluation of factors, the preliminary modeling and programming of yields, and the introduction of the most modern and excessively numerous plant protecting agents, growth regulators and so forth requires a sufficient amount of highly educated agricultural specialists. Unfortunately, the number has been constantly declining. Some 15-20 years ago, almost every larger village in the okrug had 8-10 specialists with a higher education and these specialists led production. The then cooperative farms in size were approximately the same as the new type of brigades now. But today's brigades have two-three specialists with a higher education and in some places just one. At that time the physicians were clearer and more respected including "agronomist," "zootechnician" and "doctor"; people addressed the agricultural specialists with these words and nothing could be done without them.

At present, in certain brigades, due to the lack of specialists with a higher education, persons with a basic or secondary education are called technicians. They usually have rich practical experience and may be very beneficial for agriculture, but they should not be called technicians because a technician means a highly skilled specialist. Possibly in order that there be no confusion, we should reinstate the old positions of agronomist, zootechnician and so forth.

How has it happened that now when highly skilled personnel is most essential for agriculture we cannot find them? The reason is certainly not in the word "technician" or "specialist." It is an issue of very serious problems, I would say, of the socioeconomic injustice and underevaluation of the role and place of the agricultural specialist in modern farming and livestock raising. One portion of the agricultural specialists quite naturally gained organizational experience and grew in their development. At present, they hold responsible positions in the OAPS, the APK [agroindustrial complex], in the central departments and scientific institutes. However, a larger portion of the personnel has left agriculture because we were unable to establish conditions and prerequisites for full self-realization in production, without depriving them of the necessary social, cultural and other perquisites. Some left agriculture right from school. Recently, in front of the building of the Central Council of the NAPS [National Agroindustrial Union], I saw a fellow schoolmate who, shivering in the wind, was selling seeds. I remember that he had done this also during his studies. In spite of everything he had finished with the diploma of an agronomist. There are many such in our nation but they work at the bars of the Sunny Coast and other tourist facilities and are behind the counters in luxury stores. Is it not high time to take away all their diplomas for a higher education? At present, scores of agricultural specialists have found other work. One of the main reasons for this is that the other sectors are developing at a more rapid pace and are better able to resolve their social and domestic questions, that is, working hours have been regulated with a 5-day week, the wages are higher and guaranteed, there are opportunities for bonuses, rest in the summer, transportation is dependable and convenient, there are opportunities to find housing and so forth. Up to now we have been able to offer virtually none of these advantages to our specialists. And it is not just a question of a lack of desire or an underestimation of the problem. It is a question of serious economic difficulties which prevent us from effectively and permanently resolving the social and domestic problems for the specialists employed in agriculture. The average profitability of production, in spite of the much higher yields which we are receiving and the high productiveness in livestock raising, is not sufficient to guarantee the means for improving the physical plant and, hence, for improving working conditions. For years now, certain APK have been paying 90 percent of the wages, with not even a mention of bonuses. On some complexes, in order to guarantee payment up to 90 percent, they use almost fully the money in the funds for socioservice and cultural measures, reconstruction and technical improvement and so forth.

For many years, transport problems could not be solved. In the last 5 years we have not received a single suitable means of transport for the brigade leaders, let alone for the specialists. We must provide even the most ordinary second-hand Simson motorbikes. We are not speaking of the great restrictions in using the available transport and the unjust allocation of the kilometer limit. At present, an agronomist or the leader of a brigade who is responsible for 4-5

and sometimes more million leva of production on an area of 50,000-60,000 decares has the same limit as the director of an urban enterprise located on 10 decares.

It is very difficult for the agricultural specialists to build housing. The problems are not only in the limits because many of our specialists have the funds. There is no one to build the housing. At the APK in Grudovo for 3 years now a residential building has stood incomplete and we least could blame the leadership of the APK which does not have the capability of putting up large-panel units.

For these and a number of other problems many agricultural specialists are abandoning production and seeking employment elsewhere. Particularly acute now is the need for veterinarians, zootechnicians, accountants and so forth. In the okrug of the 760 accountants only 35 have a higher education, only 7.7 percent of those employed in agriculture have a secondary education and 2.7 percent have a higher education. Even more alarming is the situation in the Strandzha area where there are not enough executor personnel. These facts require not only serious reflection but also serious action. We must establish a statute for the agricultural specialist as well as conditions for greater social praise and recognition of his work. The changed conditions and nature of agricultural activities have objectively imposed changes in the name of the agricultural specialists including agronomist engineer, zootechnician engineer and others, although these do not have public popularity.

It is also essential to improve the integrated admission of applicants for the higher institutions of learning, to put this on a fundamentally new basis and have it conform fully to needs. The ranking of applicants commences with the conurbation system and only when the required number cannot be recruited within it are the applicants filled out from neighboring systems. What we received in 1984 was not promising. Of the 57 student applicants with a contract, only 20 were local residents and the remainder were from Burgas. After completing their higher education these young persons will scarcely be very willing to be sent to areas distant from the okrug city. Nor do we deny our own responsibility in actually resolving the problems of the agricultural specialists. In December of last year, the Executive Bureau of the OAPS, together with the leadership of the Agricultural Academy, approved a long-range program for fully supplying agricultural specialists for the okrug and for all individual APK. We are watching closely those who have completed the institutions of higher learning, we hold meetings with them and are sending them out on preliminary assignment. In virtually all the APK, we are endeavoring to organize a new attitude toward the receiving of young specialists for work. Upon the initiative of the Okrug Komsomol Committee, as if this year we are reinstating the Council of Young Agricultural Specialists. We are endeavoring to raise the work of the scientific-production councils, the brigades for accelerated technical progress and so forth to a qualitatively new level. We feel that by these and other forms we will provide greater social recognition and conditions for the personal realization of the specialists.

At the APK in Burgas, Aytos, Karnobat and elsewhere, a consistent policy is being conducted of building their own housing facilities. By strengthening the



okrug Agrostroy [Agricultural Construction] enterprise, we will create conditions for permanently solving the housing problem of the specialists.

At the OAPS programs have been approved for mechanizing the heavy and labor-intensive processes, for improving public dining, building recreational facilities and so forth.

We are confident that agricultural production which is becoming evermore complex and evermore scientific-intensive, will create the necessary conditions and will find its specialists and they will work with ever greater energy and dedication because what we produce is irreplaceable.

10272

CSO: 2200/119

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEFENSE MINISTER SCORES FRG 'REVANCHISMS,' WW II VIEW

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 40 No 2, 1985 (signed to press 10 Jan 85)  
pp 51-56

[Article by Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED CC Politburo and Minister of National Defense: "Fraternally Bound in Guarding Peace and Socialism"]

[Text] Almost half a lifetime has passed since 8 May 1945. For our people and its soldiers, this date is the symbol of a unique ascent from the material and intellectual ruins of World War II to the first German state of workers and farmers, which is building the developed socialist society and occupies a respected place at the side of the Soviet Union and in the family of socialist states.

"On the way to the Eleventh SED Congress," Comrade Erich Honecker said at the Ninth SED CC Plenum, "the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people will be a significant milestone. Second only to the Great October Socialist Revolution, the victory of the heroic Soviet people and its glorious army who, as the decisive force of the anti-Hitler coalition, bore the brunt of the destruction of the brown tyranny, represented another world historical deed of liberation for mankind." The warriors of the Soviet Army carried their bloodstained red flags, to Bucharest and Sofia, Warsaw and Budapest, Prague and Berlin, finally hoisting it on the dome of the Reichstag and Brandenburg Gate. The flags were more than the symbol of victory over the worst and most dangerous enemy of mankind. These red flags also proclaimed the internationalist mission of the soldiers of the Soviet Army, who did everything in their power after the victory over fascism to help the liberated workers and farmers construct a new life in freedom, peace and socialism.

In this hitherto biggest and most severe military conflict in human history, the humanist social system of socialism emerged victorious over the barbaric rule of imperialism, workers and farmers liberated from exploitation and oppression vanquished a system of the worst possible exploitation and political enslavement, the scientific ideology of the working class and its party conquered the mendacious and misanthropic ideology of imperialism, defeated chauvinism and racism.

The Soviet Army's victory in the concluding operations of the Great Patriotic War, the destruction of the fascist Wehrmacht and the imperialist state apparatus as a whole offered the working class, the working people and all other democratic forces of our country the historic opportunity once and for all to make an end of the calamitous rule of German imperialism and militarism.

This opportunity was resolutely grasped in the east of Germany, then the Soviet Zone of Occupation. The merger of the KPD and the SPD as the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the SED's development as the Marxist-Leninist fighting party and vanguard of the working class--these were the decisive prerequisites for the popular masses being able, with the help of this leadership, to create a new and truly democratic German state. A revolutionary transformation of social conditions proceeded in intense disputes with the reactionary forces inside and outside our country and continued logically with the 1949 establishment of the workers and farmers state and the 1952 transition to the planned construction to socialism.

The presence of the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany, the aid provided by the USSR and the other forces of peace and democracy on the international scene were of crucial importance in those years. Thanks to them, the antifascist-democratic and socialist revolutions in our country proceeded without a civil war, and any warlike intervention of the imperialist powers was made impossible right from the start.

#### The Soviet Army - Model for the National People's Army

By the establishment of the National People's Army (NVA) as the answer to the militarization of the Bonn NATO state, a fundamental change occurred in German military history, too--the radical break with the fatal traditions of German militarism, the resolute orientation to Lenin's principles of socialist military organization, the example of the Soviet Army.

The NVA was the first army of a German state to consider itself the working class' instrument of power. It regards the defense of peace and the interests of the working people as its supreme purpose, the prevention of a new war launched from German soil its special responsibility toward the peoples who were exposed to devastating aggressions by imperialist German armies twice in this century.

From the very first, the SED directed the GDR Armed Forces in every conceivable way to strengthen the comradeship-at-arms with the Soviet Army. Helped by the Armed Forces of the USSR, who provided our Army not only with its principal weapons but also with steady and effective assistance in the training and further education of the officer corps, our Army was quickly able to supply its own and responsible contribution to the defense of the socialist fatherland and the common achievements of the fraternal alliance.

#### Aggressive Designs Foiled at all Times

It has proved that in the 30 years of the united armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member states and in its successful cooperation in many defense exercises

of all types as well as in aggravated and threatening situations for our peoples--whenever it was necessary to foil the aggressive designs of the foes of socialism and peace.

At the same time, we will never forget that our Army was able to acquire and consolidate these capabilities for the reliable defense of peace primarily by the ties of class fraternity and comradeship-at-arms with the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons why our party enjoys the utmost confidence of the people and the Army is its championship of a clear internationalist attitude in every field of politics, including defense. The working people and soldiers of the GDR are fully aware that, as long as the socialist community is threatened by imperialist enemies such as the United States and the other NATO states, the consolidation of its unity and integrity remains the most important basic condition for the security of each socialist country. The closer the alliance, the greater the extent of agreement with the USSR and among themselves, the more secure the popular power of each of our countries.

#### By Conviction, Knowledge and Responsibility

By profound conviction and the knowledge of our supreme responsibility for the preservation of political stability and peaceful conditions at the European borderline of the two social world systems, our party considers the firm and indestructible alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal countries among the basic national interests of the GDR and, consequently, the supreme principles of our national defense.

Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Army, the "regiment next door," as a NVA marching song puts it, therefore ranks as the main arena of the internationalist confirmation of NVA members. It ranges from thousands of common training hours each year to large-scale amicable mass events, together with the population, involving 1.5 million people in the last week of February 1984, the "week of comradeship-at-arms" between the anniversaries of the two armies.

Whether it is a matter of thousands of young GDR citizens working on major construction sites in the Soviet Union, or our students in civilian clothes or uniforms studying at Soviet universities or military academies--for all of them it has long been a matter of course together with their socialist class brothers to work for our lives to become even more glorious and richer. It is just as much a matter of course for the members of the National People's Army and the Soviet Armed Forces in Germany to cooperate in joint exercises, military performance comparisons or the ready-alert system for the reliable defense of the territory, the air space and the territorial waters of our socialist states.

#### United in Thought and Action for Our Cause

The steel smelter from Magnitogorsk and the turner from Magdeburg, both standing guard on the Elbe as soldiers of socialism--they are perfectly well

aware of their common responsibility, meet their socialist soldierly obligation in the certainty of being able to firmly rely on one another, feel at one in thought and action for the defense and the prosperity of our common cause.

And yet, their fathers and grandfathers may well have been among those who confronted one another at Stalingrad or rolled toward one another in tanks at Kursk, the one fully aware that he was offering his life for the homeland and socialism, the other deluded and unaware that he was risking his for a clique of war criminals.

Only one or two generations separate these historical events from our age. An enormous revolutionary change has since occurred in the relations of our peoples, the minds of our people, the political map of Europe and the international balance of power in favor of socialism. It was able to occur thanks to the Soviet Army's deed of liberation, the sensible and far sighted policy of the CPSU, the SED and all our fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

#### The Great Sacrifices Will Never Be Forgotten

Just because the citizens of our countries, whether old or young, know very well whom they have most to thank for being able now to live in peace and construct a happier and secure socialist future, they will never forget the innumerable acts of heroism of the Soviet Armed Forces, the partisan units, the antifascist resistance fighters as well as the indescribable sacrifices of the peoples of the Soviet Union in the struggle for the liberation of Europe from fascism. They live on in their hearts and the common daily efforts to make the lives of the working people even better, peace even more secure.

After the war, in the ruins of a small hamlet near Minsk, where the fascists had gruesomely killed more than 100 women and children in 1943, I read the following inscription: "Let grief and mourning be converted to courage and strength, so that you may succeed in preserving peace on earth, so that life may never and nowhere suffocate in fire."

Indeed, the indescribable grief inflicted on the Soviet people and the peoples of Europe by the fascists has turned into a strong force--also in the shape of our socialist German state and its national defense. Our party, our state, our Army and our friendship with the Soviet people and the other fraternal peoples--they are they fulfilled legacy of the Soviet Union's victory over Hitler fascism.

Even thinking back to our own sufferings, our people will never forget the 20 million people sacrificed by the Soviet people in the struggle for its homeland and our liberation. We will never forget the innumerable acts of friendship by the Soviet combatants and comrades who--offering a piece of bread with one hand while still holding a rifle in the other--helped our people overcome the dreadful consequences of World War II, who did not take revenge but offered the hand of friendship, who smoothed the way for our people so that it, too, conquered history.

## The Guilty Continue To Be Indicted

Equally unforgotten are those who were guilty of this terrible catastrophe of World War II, the aggressive circles of monopoly capital, its politicians and military men who are responsible for the firestorm of war raging for 6 years across 22 million square kilometers, threatening more than 60 countries and more than 80 percent of the world population with suffering and death, for the fact that 55 million people died and more than 80 million were wounded or mutilated for life.

Among the lessons the Marxist-Leninist parties of our countries learned from the history of World War II and the victory over fascism, the lessons learned by the GDR working class from the struggle of the German people's best sons, is certainly the one never and at no time to take our eyes off the circles of imperialism, who profit from overarmament, despise and threaten other peoples.

Because our countries and armies, with the Soviet Union as their center of power, have resolutely and lastingly learned the lessons of the victory and the sacrifices in World War II, because we stand together with friendly countries and young national states, the international communist workers' movement and all others working in the columns of the worldwide peace forces, we have succeeded for 40 years to deflect the peril of a Third World War and entirely preserve the European Continent from wars.

## Relevant Lessons for the Present

How relevant these lessons now seem when the policy of the most aggressive and reactionary circles of the United States and the NATO Bloc "represent a general attack on all the material and intellectual-cultural values mankind created in the course of its history." That was Comrade Erich Honecker's urgent warning at the Ninth SED CC Plenum.

How pertinent these lessons are in view of the once again flourishing revanchism of those in the FRG, who never learn anything and keep on living in the past, and who again yell for the incorporation of the GDR, of CSSR, Polish and Soviet territories.

In view of the presence of enormous potentials for mass destruction, how dangerous are the falsifications of the history of World War II--officially encouraged by the Bonn Government--, which pass over in silence the main contribution and main burden of the Soviet Union and describe as the decisive battles the Western Allies' military actions in Africa, Italy and France; which turn the Soviet forces' sacrificial fights in the final phase of the war against the senseless and criminal resistance of the fascist Wehrmacht into "crimes against Germans" and produce anticommunist psychoses.

Forty years after the total defeat of German imperialism, the unconditional capitulation by the fascist Wehrmacht, 30 years after the establishment of the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Pact states, all claims to a "Germany in the 1937 frontiers" are obviously illusions and mere fancies, but the fancies are

dangerous because they are backed by dangerous and powerful resources as well as influential political forces.

#### Aggressors Inevitably Threatened by Failure

It is therefore imperative to clearly demonstrate to even the most pigheaded NATO politicians and strategists, that any attempt at direct military aggression against the Warsaw Pact would end in inevitable failure for the aggressor.

For the matter to remain there, to ensure that the future offers no possible chances of success to the policy aiming at military superiority and the overthrow of the socialist state and social system in our countries and pursued by the most aggressive forces in the United States which is the one to set the tone in NATO, the GDR and the other countries of our alliance must take farsighted and appropriate measures, in cool appreciation of the necessities and existing possibilities. These measures are directed to the preservation of the approximate military equilibrium, lessening the tension in the international situation and securing the peaceful future of our peoples.

#### The Legacy of the Heroes Carried on in Honor

Conscious of its great coresponsibility for the preservation and consolidation of peace, the comrades of the National People's Army are doing everything in their power to honorably carry on the legacy of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War. The 40th anniversary of the German people's liberation from fascism is the proper occasion for them even more solidly to forge their socialist comradeship-in-arms with the heirs of the victory and, by the reliable military defense of socialism, help us to successfully pursue the way to a peaceful and socialist future, first taken 40 years ago.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GROUND FORCES REFITTING PROCESS OUTLINED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, 1985 (signed to press 9 Nov 84)  
pp 18-19

[Article by Maj U. Luckmann, engineer: "Carrying out a Refitting Process  
in a Troop Unit"]

[Text] The refitting of our troop unit with a new APC type is first of all considered to be an ideological challenge to every individual. After all, parallel to the political and combat training the organizational conditions for refitting must be established, the new equipment must be acquired and allocated, and the previous, proven equipment must be disposed of.

1. Creating Conditions

The unit commander conducts the refitting process. About half a year before delivery of the new vehicles a program of measures is worked out. On its basis, both the political-ideological and the technical preparation of personnel and the obtaining of material and technical requirements take place.

Under the leadership of the deputy for political affairs and in cooperation with members of the technical office the refitting is to be prepared in a logical political-ideological manner. The focus should be on explaining the effect of the new equipment on increased combat readiness of the unit.

In the interest of the unit's combat readiness it is important that the equipment be rapidly mastered.

The responsibility of all army members for preparing the previous combat equipment for turnin must be emphasized.

The deputy commander for training is charged with planning the retraining courses for superiors and crews together with the deputy for equipment and armaments already at the time of the semiannual planning.

Measures for preparing and reshaping of the training base as well as for training of maintenance specialists and the maintenance facilities are to be initiated.



For the technical preparation of the personnel first the responsible officers of the armor branch, unit commanders, APC driving instructors and maintenance specialists attended courses at the "Ernst Thaelmann" officer academy, where they became acquainted with the new equipment.

The experience of other units that already had the new equipment were collected and generalized.

On the basis of the program for retraining of the mechanized rifle units all supervisors of the unit attended a three day course. The commanders, specialists and drivers trained at the officer academy relayed here their skills and experiences. This was followed by further courses for the battalion and independent unit personnel. To ensure the retraining process it is necessary that several vehicles of the new type are available.

The training of all supervisors in the warranty and rejection regulations has had an extremely beneficial effect in the unit.

The responsibility of technical services officer was fixed for certain problems of rearming:

The StKTB [deputy commander for equipment and armament] is fully responsible to the commander for putting the action plan into effect.

## 2. Incorporation of the New Equipment

After delivery, which as a rule does not take place in one lot, the equipment is handed over to the units. Under the supervision of the ranking armor branch officer, specialists of the [maintenance] company and maintenance and repair units with their trained crews carry out a quality and functional test. This is concluded with a 100 km [road] march and a water-proofing test. The quality and functional trial must be finished at most 14 days after the receipt of the equipment. The trial should be used for further schooling of personnel as well as of maintenance and repair specialists.

From the first day of use, the operation manuals and additional regulations must be routinely followed.

Once the units have a complete complement of the new combat equipment a festive transfer to the unit takes place in a ceremony during a unit assembly.

Depending on deliveries the rearmament as a rule takes place by unit, so that further training of personnel also takes place in stages. Once the units are fully equipped all training must be planned so that it includes elements of further mastery and skill with the equipment.

Maintenance and repair specialists are to become further qualified through maintenance and repair training sessions. Concerted efforts must be made to have unit officers receive armored vehicle driver licenses according to their service positions.

In this stage the following problems were encountered in our unit: Depending on the dates of the individual deliveries combat training schedules had to be adjusted so that the crews (chief, driver, gunner) of the units in question could perform the mandated functional and quality control.

Due to isolated violations of warranty and rejection regulations justified complaints were rejected. For this reason the organization of responsible and conscientious rejection work is an important component in the introduction of new equipment. This presupposes a high degree of specialized knowledge of all personnel having training tasks with the equipment. A knowledge of operating and rejection regulations is of particular importance.

### 3. Turnin of Replaced Equipment

This requires material, technical and organizational measures in addition to the political-ideological preparation of the personnel. Preparation of the equipment must be carried out by the fixed deadline. For this reason the work must be well planned, organized, and managed. First a plan of action, divided in stages (in every stage 10 vehicles are prepared) as well as further documents (work cards, inspection cards) must be worked out. Personnel routinely working on the equipment (soldiers in the third service half-year) must be determined, assigned, and trained.

Before the beginning of practical work the vehicles must be thoroughly inspected so that the extent of work may be determined and necessary spare parts ordered. The required spare parts, components, and expendibles are to be ordered in a timely manner so that the work process is not delayed. The status of the task is to be analyzed regularly so that problem areas can be identified early and measures can be taken to maintain the fixed schedule.

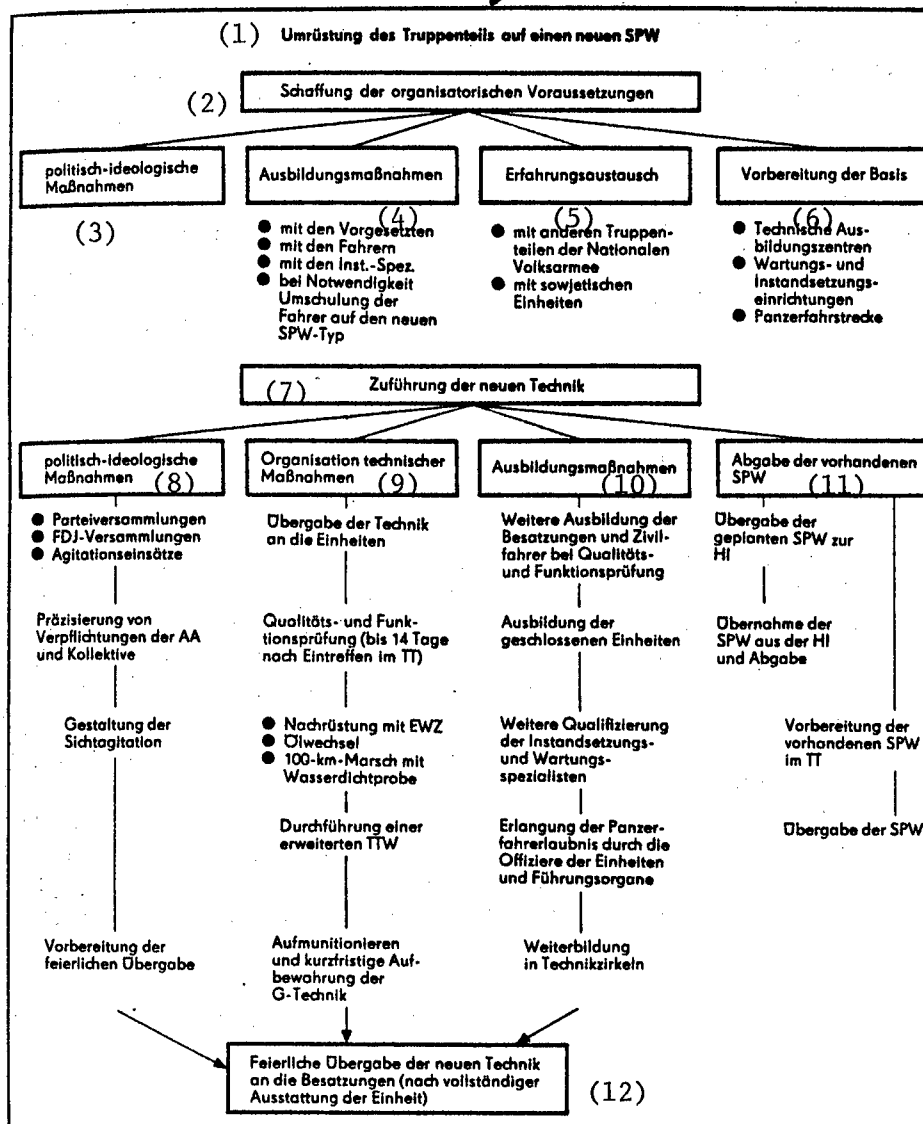
From the experiences we can point out the following areas of concentration in preparing equipment for turnin:

Equipment turnin must be well managed.

Personnel assigned should not be changed, if possible.

Requests for spare parts and materials must be submitted to higher headquarters in a timely fashion.

On work cards the task performance and the required quality must be attested to by signature.



- Key:
1. Refitting a troop unit with a new APCs
  2. Preparing organizational prerequisites
  3. Political-ideological measures
  4. Training measures
    - with supervisors
    - with trainers
    - with maintenance specialists
    - retraining of drivers for the new APC model, if needed
  5. Exchange of experiences
    - with other NVA units
    - with Soviet units
  6. Preparing the base
    - technical training centers
    - maintenance and repair facilities
    - tracked vehicle course

7. Introduction of new equipment
8. Political-ideological measures
  - party meetings
  - FDJ meetings
  - Agitations measures
  - Fixing responsibilities or army members and collectives
  - Preparing visual propaganda
  - Preparing festive turnover
9. Organization of technical measures
  - Turnover equipment to units
  - Quality and function control (up to 14 days after arrival in unit)
  - Electronic equipment installed
  - Oil change
  - 100 km march with waterproofing test
  - Expanded technical maintenance service
  - Ammunition supply and short-term storage of combat equipment
10. Training measures
  - Further training of crews and civilian drivers during quality and function test
  - Training of units
  - Advanced training of maintenance and repair specialists
  - Obtaining of tank driver licenses by unit and headquarters officers
  - Advanced training in technical circles
11. Turnin of existing APCs
  - Transfer of scheduled APCs to army supply
  - Transfer of APCs from supply and turnin
  - Preparation of APCs on hand in unit
  - Turnin of APCs
12. Festive turnover of new equipment to crews (after complete equipping of the unit)

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, JANUARY 1985

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 7 Dec 84)  
pp 2, 95

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, SED Central Committee member, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the EINHEIT editorial board; pp 7-13. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Our Economy in Developed Socialism's Conception of Society

We approach the new and higher tasks assigned to all in preparation of the 11th party congress with our clear conception of society. How in being carried out the economy turns out to be our chief battleground, how economic growth is entwined with steady social development, and what inferences follow from that under the conditions of comprehensive intensification for fashioning all sides of the social reproduction process--this article furnishes sound theoretical answers for all that.

[Summary of article by Fritz Brock, member of the SED Central Auditing Commission and SED Central Committee department chief; pp 14-18]

[Text] High Socialist Competition Achievements for the 11th Congress

A mighty upswing in socialist competition is noted. What are its basic goals and its new quality? How do the ambitious commitments express the working people's firm resolve to cope creatively with the social tasks assigned? What is expected of the managers of enterprises, combines and institutions? What demands are to be made on the political competition leadership so that high achievements will set a worthy stage for the 11th party congress?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Claus Kroemke, SED Central Committee deputy department head; pp 9-25. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "In-house Development of Rationalization Means Emphasized," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Production of Rationalization Means in the Combines and Enterprises

The rapid development of in-house rationalization means production in the combines and enterprises demonstrates that our socialist planned economy produces forms of social labor organization that conform to the tremendous development of the productive forces. Rationalization means production must be strengthened further because it is a catalyst for scientific and technological progress and for comprehensive intensification. Especially by means of "tailor-made" rationalization solutions all the way to automation it produces great economic effects, improves the working and living conditions and enriches the substance of labor.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Demmler, head of the labor safety and social insurance department of the Fritz Heckert trade union college under the FDGB Central Executive Committee; and Horst Heintze, member of the SED Central Committee and member of the presidium and secretary of the FDGB Central Executive Committee; pp 26-30]

[Text] Health Protection and Labor Safety--Task of the Trade Union's Representation of Interests

As firm elements, health protection and labor safety hold a proper place in our policy that is aimed at the well-being of the people. Ensuring it on every job, which conforms to the humanistic character of socialism, is a task of eminent importance in the trade unions' representation of interests. What have our advances been in this, and where are the priorities of trade union efforts in this field?

[Summary of article by Erwin Elster, certified social scientist, secretary for science, popular education and culture at the Karl-Marx-Stadt SED Bezirk Management; Ferdinand Schiele, director of the Olbernhau VEB for crafts workshops; and Siegfried Wolfrum, general director of the VEB musical instruments combine, Plauen; pp 31-35]

[Text] Traditional Crafts and Technical Innovations in the Consumer Goods Production

Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk has a rich legacy stemming from its cultural and crafts tradition which must be tapped for the present generation and handed on to future ones. By cultivating this heritage and using it as a live process that also accommodates modern industry, premises are laid on which we can build today to turn high-grade work made in the GDR more and more into an internationally recognized concept.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Ringpfeil, director of the Institute for Technical Chemistry of the GDR Academy of Sciences, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and corresponding member of the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; pp 36-43. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Biotechnology's Role in Production, Agriculture Viewed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Biotechnology--Content, Functions, Potential for Exploitation

We attribute a key role to biotechnology, which has become increasingly and rapidly important all over the world in recent years--especially with respect to economic development. What explains this increased importance? In which areas does one expect the effects of biotechnology? What are the main questions resulting from the continuing introduction of biotechnology?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Siegfried Richter, Martin-Luther University, Halle/Wittenberg; and Prof Dr Rolf Sonnemann, Technical University Dresden; pp 44-50]

[Text] Robots--History and Social Aspects

By way of discussing the historic development of robot technology, the dialectical connection is illuminated between economic production needs, the social aspects and the state of scientific knowledge and technological application basic to productive forces development. With reference to the social problems in the development and use of robot technology in capitalism, it is being demonstrated why this technology can become a decisive impulse for social progress under socialist conditions only.

[Summary of article by Dr Gerhard Fricke, head of the CPSU History and Policy department of the Karl Marx Party College under the SED Central Committee; and Dr Bernd Stobbe, chief scientific assistant in the same department; pp 51-56]

[Text] The First People's Revolution in Our Century

As the first people's revolution in the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution, the 1905-1907 revolution in Russia is of world historic importance. That was the first bourgeois-democratic revolution in which the proletariat asserted its hegemony, and in it Lenin's strategy and tactics faced their acid test. This revolution accelerated the development of the international revolutionary workers movement and exercised a lasting influence on it. The basic lessons and experiences of this revolution, worked out by Lenin, have proven their vitality to this day.

[Summary of article by Fernando Nadra; pp 57-62]

[Text] The Argentinean Communists' Ongoing Struggle

Proceeding from an assessment of the class character and the contradictory tendencies in the policy of the new government formed in the outcome of the overthrow of the reactionary military dictatorship in 1983, the basic political line of Argentina's CP is presented. The party champions primarily a national consensus among the government, the political parties, the trade unions and other social forces with the idea of defending and deepening democracy. The party also is fighting for a national and social liberation front anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist in character.

[Summary of article by Col Dr Werner Huebner, section chief of the SED Central Committee; pp 63-69. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Military-Strategic Balance in the Struggle for Peace and Security

The approximate military-strategic balance between the NATO states and the Warsaw Pact states, achieved by the socialist states, mainly the Soviet Union, in the mid-1970's, is an important factor in the international correlation of forces that must absolutely be preserved on behalf of world peace. It is the crucial prerequisite for having both sides, in accordance with the principle of equal security, accomplish the lengthy process of arms limitation, military equilibrium at an ever decreasing level, all the way to final disarmament.

[Summary by Prof Dr Karlheinz Lohs, director of the research office for Chemical Toxicology, GDR Academy of Sciences, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, deputy chairman of the GDR Committee for Science Questions in Security and Peace and Disarmament, deputy chairman of the Advisory Council for Chemical Disarmament under the GDR Peace Council, vice president of Urania, member of the governmental council of SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute); pp 70-74]

[Text] The Chemistry of Killing--Made in the USA

There is every good reason for making the public focus on chemical weapons, overshadowed for decades by the nuclear weapons, and on the efforts at banning their application, development, production and stockpiling. With the greatest expertise the reasons are explained for that and answers are furnished to the questions about the forces in the past and the present that have been linking their ominous interests to chemical weapons and about where the ever repeated initiatives for an all-inclusive banning of such weapons are coming from.



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ECONOMY'S IMPORTANCE IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 7 Dec 84)  
pp 7-13

[Article by Prof Otto Reinhold, SED Central Committee member, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee: "Our Economy in Developed Socialism's Conception of Society"]

[Text] The 11th SED Congress has been summoned for April 1986. "Building on what we have accomplished, created by hard work and in constant confrontation with the imperialist forces, we are attacking new tasks," Comrade Erich Honecker announced at the ninth Central Committee session. "The time has come to make a decision taking our considerations about our country's development up to the year 1990, even up to the threshold of 2000."\*

Through the decision to set down at the 11th party congress the party's strategy and tactics for the next historic phase and to consider and decide at that long a stretch the tasks for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, the Central Committee has issued an orientation attesting to strength and certitude of prospects, an orientation which in spite of all perilous moments, expresses our well called-for certainty of victory.

At a time when imperialist arms buildup and confrontation policy so highly endangers the peace, the question of course arises to what extent it is going to be possible to discuss and decide such long-range plans and implement this sort of far-reaching conception of society in a country like the GDR, located in the heart of Europe, on the dividing line between the two military alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We have every right to say that the Marxist-Leninists, first and foremost the Soviet Union and the other socialist states fraternally allied with it, not only understand precisely the dangers to world peace because of their scientific analysis, but that they are also alerting the world and are struggling to prevent a nuclear inferno. If we in view of that adopt a long-range strategy

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\*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Ninth SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 7.

on social development, it is because of the justified conviction that the forces capable of foiling the imperialist war strategy are large, and growing, in the international arena. Precisely the growing strength of socialism and of the peace forces offers a real opportunity to slap down the imperialist warmongers, prevent a nuclear inferno, and move toward disarmament and international detente. The most important contribution we are making to it in the GDR is our success in shaping the developed socialist society in our country. That is to say: Precisely because peace is so greatly endangered, we need a long-range strategy for socialist development in the GDR, while we assume at all times that such a strategy cannot be implemented and the socialist society cannot be successfully further developed unless we are most closely tied to the Soviet Union, the chief force of socialism, and firmly anchored within the community of socialist countries. As an inseparable component of the socialist community of states, we serve the safeguarding of peace and the maximum consolidation and radiation of socialism well by our efforts at keeping the political stability, economic dynamism and well-being of our people assured. That also is the way to ensure the military-strategic balance needed for the preservation of peace under any conditions and accomplish through political dialogue a turn to the better in the world situation. The requirement issued by Comrade Erich Honecker for the 11th party congress and its preparation thus proves a convincing expression of the historic optimism that pervades our party policy.

Furthermore, the ninth Central Committee session resolutions focus on the important fact that the SED has a clear and comprehensive conception of society that has stood up well in the vicissitudes of our time and forms the crucial foundation for all long-range decisions: the conception of the developed socialist society, as given concrete expression in our party program.

#### A Clear Conception of Society

In international affairs an intensive discussion is taking place about how the many social problems of the present and the foreseeable future can be coped with. The social and intellectual questions about the scientific and technological revolution, society's relationship with nature, the fashioning of human relations, the future character and role of labor, the desirable ideals and values of society--these and other questions are pressing for constructive and progressive answers. This all the more so since the rate and range of social change have increased so much. And this holds true not only of modern science and technology in the more narrow sense of the term, but of many areas of public life and human relations. Microelectronics, computers, information technology, the picture screen and many other manifestations of modern science and technology not only are effectively usable means of production. They also change the character of labor and the position of working people in the reproduction process; they affect social relations, responsibilities and life-styles and penetrate all areas of life even outside of production.

The debate about all that is conducted from the vantage point of specific class positions, class interests and political-ideological attitudes. And it turns out that neither the ruling imperialist circles nor the representatives of social reformism have a conception of society that could furnish

answers to the basic questions of present and future development. Their conceptions of the 1960's and early 1970's drowned in the vortex of the capitalist crisis. The euphoria that by means of the scientific and technological revolution crises could be surmounted and the ills of capitalism be cured, first gave way to deep pessimism. But for some time now spokesmen of capitalism have eagerly been seeking to replace pessimistic moods by a new optimism. In terms of social conceptions, however, they do not have much to offer apart from returning to the old-type "elbowing society." The real facts--increasing unemployment and subsistence costs, more cutbacks in social benefits, bankruptcies and business failures--make it tough indeed for most of the working people to adopt an optimistic attitude toward the capitalist order.

However one may twist and turn, admit it or not: the Marxist-Leninists today are the only political force with a clear conception of society. We do not claim to have a ready-made answer for any new question that might arise. Yet with the conception of the developed socialist society and its concrete and creative application to the GDR in the SED program, we have basic ideas about how the social problems in our time can be resolved on behalf of the workers class, the working people and, indeed, all the people.

The SED program, as adopted at the Ninth SED Congress in 1976, has stood up well, even despite considerable internal and international change, and been the solid foundation for far-reaching decisions and for concretely determining the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

Through the conception of developed socialism a clear Marxist-Leninist answer is given to the question how the scientific and technological revolution today, at the service to society, becomes a decisive instrument for fulfilling the purpose of socialism, serving the well-being and happiness of the people, so everyone can perceive it.

The SED program assumes that the most important goal of our activity is completely and comprehensively to enforce the advantages, ideals and values of socialism, its social and humanistic character. And that precisely is what the main task in its united economic and social policies is directed at. That means practically that economics, the rapid development of the productive forces, modern science and technology, assumes a key position in the SED's social policy, while always remaining subordinated to social and socio-political aims and tasks. That is true in general and of the scientific and technological revolution in particular.

Especially here one can find today the deep contrast between capitalism and socialism. The faster science and technology develop, the more fully they are used economically, the more the question arises: Can this productive forces development with its many social aspects be controlled socially, politically and intellectually in the interest of all working people?

The ruling imperialist circles and the politicians and ideologues tied in with them must of course deal today with the social ramifications of the scientific and technological progress. They cannot tolerate so much of a sharpening of the social contradictions that their power and profits would be seriously jeopardized. But some repair work done on the capitalist system won't do.

And that precisely is the vicious circle they cannot break out of. So time and time again they will develop and introduce science and technology in the interest of the profit system, then, again in the interest of the profit system, they will discuss what adjustments have to be made to the social consequences, and in the outcome one finds confirmed again that the profit system and the social objective on behalf of the working people can intrinsically not be made to conform with each other.

#### Economics--Means to an End

For shaping developed socialism there are two characteristics that are of crucial importance in this context: First there is economics, the rapid development of the productive forces--today especially modern science and technology--which is the crucial foundation for social development as such. The upward development of socialist society depends primarily on economics, on the level of labor productivity. On the other hand, the developed socialist society is by no means an economically determined society. Economics always is a means to an end, never an end in itself. Wholly in that sense we are using modern science and technology--as a means to an end. The alpha and omega of all our economic and science policy always is man himself, the ever better satisfaction of his material and intellectual-cultural needs, the full development of his abilities and talents.

As experience shows, the connection between these two basic requirements is implemented as a process and by no means automatically and without contradictions. The political power of the workers class, the public ownership in the means of production, and democratic centralism make possible ensuring the interrelations between economic growth and social progress in line with the working people's interests. Yet this connection must be concretely fashioned by party policy, strategy and tactics in any given historic phase. Since the Eighth SED Congress, the shaping of these relations, which we define as the united economic and social policies, has been the major substance of social policy, and that it will continue to be, simply because it has proven itself a mighty impulse in life. Yet, time and time again, new conditions must be created for it, new inferences must be drawn. Examples are the 10th SED Congress resolutions on the economic strategy of the 1980's and the demand raised by the seventh Central Committee session, to take another step toward comprehensive intensification. Now it has become a matter of determining the needed requirements and tasks for the second half of the 1980's and beyond.

The conception for shaping the developed socialist society, as set down in the party program, assumes that the rapid development of the productive forces (of the working people as the chief productive force as well as the material and technical productive forces) is the key issue for it. This all the more so since the scientific and technological progress keeps speeding up extraordinarily.

This realization also does away with many one-sided and primitive ideas of socialism as the first phase of communist society.

The socialist revolution of course begins by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and converting the crucial means of production into public property. It is equally true that the further development of the socialist production relations is and remains a key issue. If, however, that led in some theoretical studies of socialism to underestimating the role and necessary development of the productive forces, it conformed neither to Marxist-Leninist theory nor to the practical experiences and requirements of socialist construction. Only recall that Marx and Engels emphasized the dialectical connection between productive forces and production relations as one of the key issues of historical materialism, with the development of the productive forces assuming the primacy as the decisive and revolutionary element of the mode of production. Well known also are Lenin's remarks that ultimately the labor productivity is the most important. Socialist production relations turn out to be the decisive basis for society and the form in which the productive forces move. Yet their upward development cannot be separated from the development of the productive forces. How would the new character of labor form, how could one diminish, and finally surmount, the essential differences between urban and rural, or intellectual and physical, labor without creating the prerequisites for it through changing the material-technical base, i.e., through the development of the productive forces?

Without the scientific and technological revolution it is therefore impossible today to shape the developed socialist society. To cope with it is a basic condition for implementing our conception of society, a prerequisite for continuing the upward development of socialist society. Without the scientific and technological revolution it would be impossible comprehensively to enforce, and to make permanent, the intensive extended reproduction at the overall economic scale.

Only a rapid and continual updating of products, technologies and production methods makes possible cutbacks in production consumption, not just briefly, but over the long haul. That taps one of the most important economic growth sources. Robot technology, automated production systems, and new information technologies are excellently suitable to pushing ahead further the process of approximating mental and physical work. Modern science and technology open up new opportunities for leisure time activities and new approaches to art and culture. Without a rapid and economically effective development of the productive forces, a developed socialist society cannot be shaped with success.

That also was the standpoint by which the Central Committee let itself be guided at its ninth session when it determined the main lines for preparing the 11th party congress. Thus Comrade Erich Honecker announced: "The Politburo also adopted the resolutions for elaborating the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan. Its preparation is under way. Here we let ourselves be guided by the needs for further shaping the developed socialist society and are taking the results and experiences of recent years into account. We shall here then also continue the course of the main task with its united economic and social policies. That at once demands and promotes a dynamic and effective development of the productive forces. This has assumed high speed internationally. We have to keep pace with it and make our own progressive contribution to it in the interest of consolidating socialism."\*

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\*Ibid., p 35.

## On the Unity of Qualitative and Quantitative Growth

Shaping the developed socialist society calls for continuous, dynamic economic growth. That makes it all the more important that it was possible to speed up the rate of economic growth in recent years. Thus the national income grew by 2.6 percent in 1982, by 4.4 in 1983, and by even more than 5 percent in 1984. Industry managed a rate of increase in net production of more than 8 percent, based on an approximately equally strong rate of increase in labor productivity. Production growth proceeds while material and energy consumption drops. Specific transport expenditures dropped considerably. Developments in production equipment are positive: more than one third of all industrial machinery is 5 years old at the most, 60 percent, 10 years. The capacity utilization of important production equipment has risen in terms of operating time.

All that reflects that we have turned into intensive extended reproduction, it having become the decisive basis for our economy. Better and better do we achieve the conversion of economic intensification into economic growth. Going for comprehensive intensification over the long run, that is the essential content of the new phase in implementing our economic strategy. The international debate among Marxist-Leninist economists at times brought out the notion a socialist state could temporarily reconcile itself to qualitative growth, since even higher economic efficiency would make possible resolving important social tasks. Practical experience, however, showed such a position to be untenable, so that it also had to be abandoned in the theoretical debate.

Extremely high demands are made on our economy. So we must extend the unity of economic and social policy, cope with the scientific and technological revolution and conform to increasing R&D expenditures, ensure the military-strategic equilibrium, take measures to contain the effects of the capitalist crisis, and foil any imperialist boycott policy.

To meet these requirements, we need a quantitatively growing economic potential at the most rapid possible rate. Oriented to the comprehensive intensification of the entire reproduction process, we place our bets consistently on qualitative growth factors. That turns the efficient use of the material and intellectual potentials into a crucial source for growth. This qualitative growth becomes fully effective once it is transformed into quantitative growth. It is not just a matter of trimming production consumption and saving working hours; what matters is that this way potentials and means are released for ensuring a dynamic growth.

The point our party always has made is that we do not care about economic growth per se. We need, in a qualitative and quantitative sense, the kind of growth rate and structure through which the tasks can be resolved in the shaping of the developed socialist society within and at the international scale. That practically means that economic growth must be large enough and the structure of the available national income must be such that five basic tasks can be taken care of:

First, the advantages of socialism must be realized in such a way that everyone experiences them in ordinary life. And true enough: although while going into the 1980's the international and the internal conditions for the social development of the GDR changed markedly, not one point in the sociopolitical program

had to be deleted or even curtailed. On the contrary, some were expanded, and some new measures were decided on and carried out. Social security was further extended. That calls for significant material potentials.

Second, growth must be large enough to ensure extended reproduction in the comprehensive Marxist sense of the extended reproduction of the material-technical base of the economy, the extended reproduction of the socialist production relations in the sense of their qualitative further development and the extended reproduction of the working people as socialist personalities.

Third, we must ensure our defense capability and make our contribution to safeguarding the military-strategic equilibrium indispensable for the preservation of peace.

Fourth, we have to meet, furthermore, many international obligations, among which international solidarity and aid for developing countries play a great role.

Fifth, it is necessary, finally, to ensure the equilibrium between society and nature. As one has found out, the rational use, shaping and protection of the natural environment greatly depend on how much can be allocated for it. Ultimately, economic growth is the key for it. The SED's economic strategy is aimed at achieving economic growth with expenditures reduced. As a matter of fact, since the 10th party congress the specific expenditures for raw materials and fuels declined by an annual average of 6 percent. This form of economic growth is especially protective of the natural environment.

For various reasons, the economy is the main battleground for shaping the developed socialist society, for the conflict between socialism and imperialism, and for the preservation of peace. Its results greatly decide how and in which tempo and scope the advantages of socialism can be realized, practically and perceptibly for all working people. The practically realized advantages of socialism are themselves its most important impulses. Mainly through the struggle for solving economic tasks socialist personalities evolve who through their mode of thinking, attitude, energy and creativeness then become the actual shapers of socialist society.

In economic development, furthermore, decisions are made that pervade other sectors of public life. The interactions between the economy and the other sectors of society are becoming constantly more important for economic development as well as for the society at large. And this relates not only to the means allocated, year after year, for science, education, culture and leisure, but mainly to the content in shaping those sectors, the relations among the classes and social strata and so forth.

Moreover, the economy is today most decisively the main battleground in the worldwide conflict between socialism and imperialism, in the struggle for preventing a nuclear inferno. That the military-strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, be maintained under any conditions--that greatly depends on the economic and scientific potentials that can be allocated to it. That means, whether the imperialist confrontation policy can be foiled and the policy of economic boycott be met successfully--it mainly depends on the economic strength of socialism.

Evidently, in the struggle between the two systems and for the safeguarding of peace, the crucial question in the long run attaches to who it is who can settle the social problems of the scientific and technological revolution in the interest of the working people. Socialism it is; it has all it takes to do so.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NATO, WARSAW PACT TROOP, PARITY SKETCHED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 7 Dec 84)  
pp 63-69

[Article by Col Dr Werner Huebner, section head of the SED Central Committee:  
"Military-Strategic Balance in the Struggle for Peace and Security"]

[Text] In the worldwide struggle for peace and security, the emergence of an approximate military-strategic equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the United States, as between the socialist defense coalition of the Warsaw Pact and the aggressive NATO, belongs among the most significant results achieved in recent decades. In the struggle for preventing a nuclear world conflagration, against the instigations by the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles, a new factor of great consequence thus became effective in the international arena. "Military-strategic parity is an achievement of historic significance made by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries," Comrade Erich Honecker declared. "Never shall we allow its being destroyed. The fact that Europe has had 40 years of peace is due to that equilibrium. It is a crucial prerequisite for a peaceful future, not only on our continent, but all around the world."<sup>1</sup>

Crucial Factor for the Safeguarding of Peace

The military-strategic balance pertains to the military capabilities, the combat capabilities of both sides. As between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, it is above all determined by the parity in ICBM's between the Soviet Union and the United States, the balance between the intermediate range nuclear missile systems by the USSR and the United States, Great Britain and France deployed in Europe, and the approximate equality in conventional means and forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states in Europe.

The approximate military-strategic equilibrium between socialism and imperialism is a great accomplishment of all the forces of peace and progress in the world, and its importance cannot possibly be overrated--because, due to it, after all, any imperialist aggressor would run the risk of his own assured destruction through a deadly counter-strike. This fact no doubt is apt to have a sobering effect on those reactionary imperialist forces that are ready to enforce also through military force their political and economic goals worldwide, and it greatly helps curb their aggressive intrigues. It also explains why leading U.S. and other NATO circles are stubbornly opposing the military balance and are seeking to undermine and puncture it by their confrontation and arms build-up course.

The Soviet Union, which has always resolutely advocated general and complete disarmament and the peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders, in 1982 already declared its binding renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons of any sort before the forum of the United Nations and asked the other nuclear weapons powers to follow its example. Regardless of that, and without regard for the broad international approval of this Soviet step, the United States and NATO are holding on to their "nuclear option," to their arrogated "right" to being first in using nuclear weapons. And more than that: the Pentagon has meanwhile developed new strategic concepts for a "feasible" and "winnable" nuclear war. Precisely in view of that, the Soviet Union meets its great responsibility for world peace and its obligation to all nations by maintaining, under any conditions, its military-strategic parity with the U.S. military buildup course. It allows the potential military aggressor no doubt that, should he conduct a "first strike," he would get a destructive response. The "second strike" would be deadly for the initiator of the nuclear inferno. USSR Defense Minister Marshal Dmitri Ustinov has affirmed: "Aware of the rapacious nature of the imperialists, we emphatically state that our strategic forces are at the highest operational readiness to strike down any aggressor. By no kind of 'preemptive strike' can the strategists abroad evade a totally destructive counter-strike. Nothing can protect the aggressor against a retribution if he should be the first to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union and its allies."<sup>2</sup>

In strict contrast to the designs by the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles of achieving military superiority by pushing their arms buildup, for the socialist states the approximate military-strategic parity also is the necessary premise for propitious negotiations on arms limitation and concrete disarmament steps. It is the basic prerequisite for fully enforcing the principle of equality and equal security for both sides--that principle to indispensable for secure peace--which the politicians in the White House and the military in the Pentagon refuse to abide by with respect to the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community.

For the Warsaw Pact states this is not merely a matter of maintaining parity as such. Rather, they let themselves be guided by the realization that a continued stockpiling of new and still more dangerous weapons and weapon systems does not bring more but less security, invites the growing danger of uncontrollable developments and destabilizes international relations. The Prague declaration by the Warsaw Pact states of 5 January 1983, the Moscow announcement of 28 June 1983 by the highest representatives of the socialist states, the declaration by the CEMA member countries of June 1984, and many other negotiation initiatives document how the socialist states are taking account of it and are struggling indefatigably for stopping the arms race and maintaining military parity at an ever decreasing level.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Imperialist Drive for Military Superiority

When forces and means are equal in weight, no attack can be successful. On that the military specialists on both sides are agreed. To be able to apply as means of imperialist policy the threat of war and war on behalf of their arrogation of world domination, the United States and NATO therefore are constantly seeking chances to achieve military superiority at all cost.

The Reagan administration's preparations for space warfare are part and parcel of this hectic thrust. By an anti-missile system deployed in space, Washington is counting on the ability to deploy its own missiles, with impunity, in a nuclear "first strike" against the Soviet Union, which is to be deprived of the chance for an effective counter-strike.<sup>4</sup> Precisely that project proves how fatal the danger is that the extreme forces of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie are conjuring up for all mankind.

"The Soviet Union resolutely opposes any arms race, including one in space," Comrade Konstantin Chernenko announced in his answer to an appeal from American scientists. "At the same time it must make sense that the Soviet Union, in view of the threat from space, will be forced to take measures for reliably ensuring its own security. The calculations that space could be a way to military superiority are based on illusions."<sup>5</sup>

U.S. imperialism's designs for gaining world domination and destroying socialism also are basic to the forcible efforts by the Pentagon and NATO to enable the armed forces for general assignment, conduct strong surprise strikes from their staging areas, gain territory and render socialist armed forces impotent. That was part of the substance of NATO's "fall forge 84" maneuver series in accordance with the U.S. "Air Land Battle 2000" concept and the "Field Manual 100/5" field regulation, dealing with preemptive warfare while employing the latest conventional as well as chemical and nuclear weapons. In line with the Rogers Plan, adopted recently at the NATO defense planning committee conference, the NATO variant of the "Air Land Battle 2000" for Europe, through using new types of conventional precision and widespread weapons equal to nuclear weapons in their destructive power, strikes and combat operations are to be carried down into the depth of the territories of socialist states. The Rogers Plan by no means cancels the NATO conception of the first nuclear strike. It is an inseparable element of the Pentagon's aggressive strategy, which has already led to the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles--nuclear first strike weapons--mainly in the FRG, but in other West European NATO countries as well.

Still in the 1980's, U.S. imperialism, in alliance with the other NATO states, wants to gain a military-technical lead and, based on it, the military superiority to be able to enforce, on that foundation, its demand for world domination, to destroy socialism and, indeed, foil any social progress. In strict contrast to this imperialist objective--which, though absolutely unrealistic and illusory, still is extremely dangerous--the Soviet Union does not care for military superiority nor for a nuclear "first strike," does in fact not care at all for influencing social processes by force. Emphatically the Soviet Union declares: "We have not striven and are not striving for military superiority over the other side."<sup>6</sup> And it is acting accordingly. The size and development of military power in the Soviet Union are exclusively determined by the military threat from the forces of imperialism and reaction.

#### Imperialist Arms Buildup Policy for Gaining Military Superiority

By forgeries, distorted presentations and capricious interpretations, the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles seek to manipulate public opinion by an alleged Soviet superiority to justify their own drive for military-strategic superiority and their own arms buildup course through their lie of a "Soviet threat."

A method practiced there with special delight is to ignore the complexity of all militarily significant factors in the power balance, compare details, and manipulate them in such a way that they always come out to the disadvantage of the United States and NATO.

E.g., they always again are singling out and comparing the land-based ballistic missiles that are only part of the totality of the U.S. and USSR strategic nuclear weapons. What results such "comparisons" add up to is easy to see, especially since in the Soviet Union circa 70 percent of the warheads on all strategic weapons are on land-based missiles. In the United States, however, it is only 20 percent, while circa 80 percent of the warheads there are installed in ballistic missiles on submarines and heavy bombers. By such and similar manipulations they mean to disguise that a structural balance in strategic potentials exists in spite of such a difference.

This approximate equilibrium in the number and quality of USSR and U.S. strategic nuclear weapons evolved around the mid-1970's. When SALT II was signed in 1979, the United States and the Soviet Union also achieved conformity in viewpoints that had taken years of negotiations to work out and probe into.

A resolution adopted by the 37th UN General Assembly also affirmed that there existed an approximate parity between the USSR and the United States. Moreover, the U.S. Secretary of State at the time, Haig, had to admit to U.S. newspapermen on 5 June 1981: "In strategic nuclear weapons our two countries continue to have approximate parity."<sup>7</sup> And the former U.S. Secretary of Defense Schlesinger confirmed this "approximate parity" on 30 April 1982.<sup>8</sup> Still in February 1984, the committee of the chief of staff, the top leadership organ of the U.S. armed forces, in its report to Congress affirmed: "There now is an approximate nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union."<sup>9</sup> This approximate parity in strategic nuclear weapons could also be glimpsed from other official U.S. reports. Accordingly, the Soviet Union as well as the United States have circa 7,500 nuclear warheads each on land and sea-based ballistic missiles.

Today, however, ruling U.S. circles resort to the existing structural differences between the strategic weapons potentials of the two sides to establish their "reduction" proposals that clearly violate the principle of equality and equal security. The "reduction" they propagate would mainly concern the Soviet missiles, much less so U.S. arms in this field. Computed in concrete terms, it would lead to a 50 to 60-percent reduction of the number of warheads on Soviet missiles and to the liquidation of the largest part of the USSR strategic missiles. As far as the United States is concerned--were it to get what it wants--it would even get the chance still to increase the number of its warheads on land-based ICBM's by deploying the latest missiles.

Comparing the nuclear intermediate-range weapons in Europe (range over 1,000 km without the ICBM's) actually comes to the same thing. Here too Washington and its NATO retinue deliberately ignore the complexity of the existing parity. What they keep quiet about is that the West European NATO states, which the United States regards as its hostages as well as its European dagger, are part of the overall potential of this imperialist war pact, including the nuclear powers of Great Britain and France and the FRG as the West European NATO state

with the strongest military potential and as the chief launching ramp for U.S. nuclear first strike weapons. They also have been making a secret of that Europe has not only land-based but also other nuclear medium-range weapons. And so NATO, in the perimeter of Pershing II and cruise missile deployment, comes up with this accounting for its justification: The Soviet Union had hundreds of medium-range missiles and the United States had none in Western Europe. In point of fact, by the end of 1983 on the NATO side only Great Britain and France had medium-range land-based missiles while the United States in Europe and European waters had "only" nuclear aircraft comparable in range.

By counting neither the British and French nuclear missiles nor the air and sea-based carriers on their side, the NATO strategists tried the trick of making hundreds of medium-range nuclear weapons on their side appear a harmless "zero." So the justification for the fatal Brussels missile resolution was mendaciously twisted into the attempt by the most aggressive NATO circles to gain military superiority in strategically as important a region as Europe.

The deployment of U.S. intermediate range missiles for a nuclear first strike that started in the FRG and other West European NATO states late in 1983 makes the attempt to upset the approximate military-strategic balance especially clear: much shorter time spans for approaching targets from the air, minimal pre-alert intervals and high accuracy are turning Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe into U.S. strategic weapons against the Soviet Union. That made it self-evident for the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies to be compelled to take counter-measures in order to preserve parity.

In the field of the so-called conventional armed forces the situation is similar. Total NATO strength is circa 4,933,000 men, that of the Warsaw Pact states, 4,788,000 men--a ratio of 1.03 by 1. To block the Vienna negotiations on arms forces and armaments reduction in Central Europe and to be able to push the plans for more conventional armaments in NATO--in line particularly with the so-called Rogers Plan--the NATO states, against their better knowledge, spread the myth of a presumably overwhelming superiority in conventional weapons by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states. As in other fields here also the method resorted to by the propagandists of imperialist reaction, of making eclectic comparisons between specific types of weapons and weapons systems, looked at in isolation, of military structural forms and so forth, leads to a completely distorted and unrealistic picture.

The fact is that advantages of one side or the other in one field are balanced up against disadvantages in another field so that the total of ground and air forces of both sides match numerically (NATO states: 991,000 men; Warsaw Pact states: 979,000 men). NATO experts who deal in a less cavalier fashion with the truth have explicitly confirmed that more than once, so retired Bundeswehr Brig Gen Christian Krause, now a member of the London Institute for International Strategic Studies. "The latest figures in the 'military balance' show that manpower strength is fairly balanced. For ground forces in Europe, with the Kola Peninsula and Transcaucasia included in Europa on the Warsaw Pact side, NATO even has a slight advantage (1.03 by 1)." Generally describing the evidence of NATO's "threat analyses," Krause remarks: "While the military capabilities of the Warsaw Pact are overestimated, those of NATO are underrated."<sup>10</sup>

No allegations by politicians, military and public opinion manipulators in the NATO states against the Soviet Union and its allies--invariably spread with the intention to justify their own armaments and gain military superiority--and no mendacious fabrications about the "danger from the East" can alter the fact that an approximate military-strategic balance does exist. Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitri Ustinov has asserted: "Be it the strategic nuclear weapons or the nuclear weapons at nuclear range in Europe or the conventional armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact--in all cases there is an approximate equilibrium between the two sides."<sup>11</sup>

### The Historic Distinction of Socialism

Banning the war danger from the life of mankind, "even before the socioeconomic premises for a policy of aggression inherent in the imperialist system are overcome,"<sup>12</sup> of necessity implies securing the approximate military-strategic balance because this balance makes war meaningless since the aggressor has no chance to win a military conflict against socialism. To have created this approximate equilibrium is a distinction of historic significance owed mainly to the Soviet Union. It was attained, essentially, by the capability of Soviet science and technology, to keep pace with every essential step in imperialist rearmament, through developed technology, industrial manufacture and military application, whereby to preclude any advantage that could accrue to the correlation of military forces. And of a crucial consequence to this has been: This parity was gained for the first time in world history by socialist states, mainly by the Soviet Union, i.e. by countries in which the roots for wars and aggressions have been eliminated forever. They have irrevocably done away with the military superiority of imperialism, have gained military parity as a decisive factor for securing peace, as an important prerequisite for their successful struggle for detente and disarmament, and they will under any conditions preserve this approximate military-strategic parity on behalf of peace. Nor will they allow the fanatics for nuclear war in the United States and NATO to convert their strategy that threatens the survival of mankind into action.

The socialist states are perfectly able to produce and cope with weapons intellectually and technically but--and this is the salient and fundamental difference between them and the exploiter system--there is no need for them that would stem from the humane and social order of socialism. Still there is a need to have weapons, armed forces and warfare potentials enough to balance the war potential of the aggressors, to keep them from kindling a world conflagration. That expresses the identity of socialism and peace as much as do the Warsaw Pact states' constructive and realistic peace initiatives and negotiation proposals, their indefatigable and consistent search for broad collaboration with all who are sincerely concerned with the fate of humanity and with protecting it from a nuclear inferno.

Preserving the military equilibrium has become a key issue today in the peace struggle. It forms the decisive premise for the joint struggle by the states fraternally allied with the Soviet Union, for the implementation of their collective socialist peace program which is aimed at solving the most important question, the fundamental problem of our age. "A nuclear war, which would have neither victors nor vanquished, must be prevented," Comrade Erich Honecker said in the Politburo report to the ninth Central Committee session. "Mainly we must

stop the ominous arms race. For more weapons do not increase our security. We advocate a freeze on all nuclear means of mass annihilation. Of the greatest importance is a binding renunciation of all nuclear powers, in analogy with the USSR example, of a first use of a nuclear weapon, the renunciation of a militarization of space, arms limitation and disarmament in East and West, especially in the nuclear field, but also for the so-called conventional weapons, in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, the ensuring of a military-strategic balance at a decreasing armaments level, the freeing of Europe from nuclear weapons, the setting up of nuclear-free zones, be it in the center of the continent, in Northern Europe, on the Balkans or the Iberian peninsula, the banning of the production, storage and use of chemical weapons, and the signing of a treaty between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on the non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations."<sup>13</sup>

#### NATO - Warsaw Pact Armed Forces Ratios

	<u>NATO</u>	<u>Warsaw Pact</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Strength of armed forces (in thousands)	4,933	4,788	1.03 by 1
Strategic nuclear arms (warheads)	7,500	7,500	1 by 1
Medium-range nuclear arms in Europe (Launches)	986	975	1.01 by 1
Warships	2,175	1,872	1.2 by 1

(Yearbook USSR '84, Moscow 1984; "From Where Comes the Danger to Peace," Moscow, 1984, p 70)

#### FOOTNOTES

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5. Konstantin Chernenko, "USSR Resolutely Opposes an Arms Race in Space," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 May 1984, p 5.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 31.
7. Quoted in "From Where Comes the Danger to Peace," Military publishing house, Moscow, 1984, p 70.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.

10. Christian Krause, "Reflections on NATO's Threat Analysis, Contradictions in the Situation Assessment," DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, Bonn, No 4, 1984, pp 333-334.
11. "USSR Defense Minister Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitri Ustinov Answers Questions by TASS," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 December 1982, p 3.
12. Cf. Kurt Hager, "Gesetzmaessigkeiten unserer Epoche--Triebkraefte und Werte des Sozialismus" [Inevitabilities in Our Era--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 9.
13. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Ninth SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 15.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CITIZENS' ROLE IN GOVERNMENT EXTOLLED

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pp 75-79

[Article by Guenter Gleissner, department head in the secretariat of the GDR People's Chamber: "Where the People are Sovereign"]

[Text] Political power, exercised by the urban and rural working people and used on behalf of the working class and all the people--that marks the people's sovereignty in socialism. "Only political working class power," as also stands confirmed by social practice in our country, "assures the people of the freedom to fashion conditions worthy of life for all citizens and the freedom of personality. Our state, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, represents the interests of all the people and guarantees liberty and human rights."<sup>1</sup>

"Raising the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy,"<sup>2</sup> is what Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, in the "Communist Manifesto," define as the only way to the working people's real sovereignty, to true democracy and freedom. Along that way our people have consistently and successfully advanced, led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party. The development of the first workers and farmers state on German soil impressively confirms the scientific prediction that completely new forms in the exercise of power evolve through the socialization of the means of production and the abolition of the political and social suppression of the majority by the minority. Together with its alliance partners, the workers class, through the process of the antifascist-democratic transformation and the socialist revolution, created a historically new type of democracy allowing each citizen, regardless of social origin and of his ideological and religious persuasion, a partnership in deciding public affairs and a creative participation in shaping the new society. This real socialist democracy, the comprehensive participation by the citizens, their collectives and social organizations, in state management and planning as in overall social development, is profoundly characteristic of the nature of socialism.<sup>3</sup>

The Main Developmental Trend of Socialist State Power

The socialist state embodies the political power of the workers class, of the class of the cooperative farmers allied with it, and of the other working people. This power is deeply democratic in character, is a true people's power, as after all, "under our socialist conditions the working people are not only

citizens but, by the same token, the pillars of the state."<sup>4</sup> In ensuring the citizens' broadest involvement in the management of social processes, especially in state management activity, socialist democracy also turns out to be the decisive impulse for economic and overall social progress. Lenin already pointed to the enormous advantage of socialism that is able to rely on deliberate and voluntary mass initiative, on the masses' active participation in the exercise of power, calling socialist democracy a means the socialist state has to raise its strength exponentially.<sup>5</sup> That precisely makes the further development and perfection of socialist democracy--as our party program puts it--the main trend in which socialist state power develops.

The shaping of the developed socialist society, as stipulated by the Eighth SED Congress resolutions, and the course of the main task with its united economic and social policies initiated a new quality of social development and, hence, of our socialist democracy. "The citizens' participation, in various forms, in state and economic management is turning increasingly into the decisive criterion of life in socialism."<sup>6</sup> The concrete manifestations of socialist democracy in our ordinary life are manifold. The people's representations are developing as socialist power organs, as true representations of the working people's interests. The activity of the local councils and their specialized organs has been further upgraded; it increased its relevance to citizens' affairs and its public efficacy. There is a broad participation by the citizens in the preparation, implementation and control of the resolutions from the people's representations and their organs. In the work collectives and residential areas millions of working people are making their contributions to improving the GDR's economic efficiency and the working and living conditions. This in particular shows the vitality of socialist democracy. It is attested to, e.g., by the participation of 365,000 citizens of all classes and strata in the 18,500 commissions of the National Front of the GDR. More than 610,000 working people, on parents advisory councils and activists groups, are concerning themselves with the young generation's socialist education and training. More than 340,000 citizens are doing responsible work in enforcing socialist law as lay judges and as members of arbitration and conflicts commissions. As many as 266,095 working people are actively engaged on the commissions and committees of the Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate. Millions of citizens are thus using their personal abilities, talents and life experiences in a conscious partnership in shaping public processes. These facts are an eloquent expression of the exercise of constitutionally guaranteed basic rights, of the working people's being sovereign in our socialist state.

#### The People's True Representatives of Interests

A high responsibility for implementing our policy, directed at the well-being of the people and at the safeguarding of peace, is borne by the people's representations, the state power organs chosen by the citizens, the embodiment of the democratic character of our state power and of the working people's sovereignty. They are "working corporate bodies, executive and legislative at one and the same time" (Marx) combining within them the preparation for and decision-making on basic questions of social development with the implementation and control of measures decided on. Their activity is marked by comprehensive and expert working people participation.

While going into the new stage in the implementation of the economic strategy, higher standards were imposed on all of state management activity. The tasks arising from that greatly determine the activity of all people's representations and their organs. What matters now is that all state organs in their areas of responsibility comprehensively enforce intensification and thereby help make our economic growth highly dynamic. Here it is important to understand how the political, social, intellectual-cultural and, indeed, the tasks in all sectors of public life are intertwined and to take care of them as such. In that central management and planning--in accordance with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism--be concentrated on expert decisions on basic matters and at the same time the in-house responsibility and initiative of the local state organs, combines and enterprises, cooperatives and institutions are encouraged for implementing social tasks, the material and intellectual potential of our country and people becomes increasingly more decisive.

What socialist democracy can do here becomes apparent in the 1985 national economic plan. The law on the economic plan, passed a few weeks ago by the People's Chamber, was the outcome of intensive plan debates in the enterprises and institutions. Some 85 percent of the working people took part in it. The basic orientation to continuing the highly dynamic economic growth led to many creative ideas and concrete proposals for further performance improvements and higher efficiency. That found its expression in many collective and individual commitments aimed at the fulfilment and targeted overfulfilment of economic quotas together with reducing the consumption of raw materials, energy and semi-fabricates. Suggestions from millions of working people have gone into the final parameters of the economic plan. In the plan debate, the more than 315,000 trade union shop stewards proved themselves fellow-combatants of the deputies.

It is in line with the character of the socialist people's representations that their efforts now are aimed at implementing and supervising the national economic plan and the ambitious work programs of the party and the entire people in getting set for the 11th SED Congress. Here our socialist power organs can, in a tried and tested manner, dip into the vast knowledge and rich political and occupational experiences of the more than 206,000 deputies. Through their job-related activities and their public activities, the elected representatives of the people stay in close contact with their constituencies, confer with them on the tasks ahead, induce them to take an active part in drafting and implementing state decisions, and submit status accounts to them regularly, through which they constantly rejustify their mandates as deputies. This great potential of our deputies, our people's representations, must still much more strongly brought to bear, in all phases of the state management process--from decision-making to enforcing and controlling the resolutions taken--on solving the demanding tasks in preparation for the 11th party congress.

The standing commissions of the local people's representations are doing much in tapping reserves for economic performance improvements and mobilizing the working people. Their potentials were further greatly enlarged by having more than 185,000 citizens appointed as members of the standing commissions and including other citizens in the work of those commissions' activists groups. Some examples may show how the standing commissions seek decisions on important problems, raise new questions, and resolve them jointly with the citizens.

It was in Wismar where young deputies, after many talks, mainly with young people, submitted proposals to the city-Kreis assembly on modernizing the inner core of the city and recommendations on more broadly involving the young people in solving important public issues. The deputies of Teutschenthal community together with the deputies of the Saalkreis assembly residing in the community effectively dealt with the implementation of an urban development program. Within the scope of the plan and the economic mass initiative, this community has thus far achieved such results as the building of 44 private homes and a veterans club, the reconstruction and expansion of an old juice-plant, the registration of broken lots to be handed over for small horticultural use, and the supplying of all citizens with fresh baking goods from local bakeries. In Schleusingen there were the designee People's Chamber candidate Bernd Haefner, the standing commission for traffic and roads, and the traffic safety activists members who, together with the municipal council, took up petitions from the citizens to draw up a new traffic conception and a plan for the maintenance and repair of the city's street network. Wherever it is a matter of performance improvements in combines and enterprises, of improving the citizens' working and living conditions, of culture, education, sports, high-level leisure time activities, and of order and safety in the territory, the deputies are always "on the ball." Their work becomes all the more fruitful, the more they are able carefully to examine the citizens' ideas, propositions and suggestions and to carry them out together with them.

#### Tapping the Working People's Treasure of Experiences

"Join in the work, the planning, the government," this principle for the citizens' democratic participation is expressed most clearly also by the efforts of our top people's representation and its commissions and deputies. It has already become a sound tradition to have laws meant to be discussed and settled in the People's Chamber first publicly debated so that the working people's ideas may inform the decision-making. In the bill for the youth law alone--to mention some examples--some 200 textual changes were made. Among them was youth's own responsibility for educating the young generation in the spirit of socialism and peace and for coshaping social development in the GDR, which was tightened up, and the inclusion of a paragraph on youth's participation in socialist economic integration. During the public debate on the GDR Family Code the parents' responsibility for the socialist education of their children was more concretely defined. The trade unions actively participated in the debate by 5.8 million working people on the draft for the Labor Code; 39,000 proposals for supplements and amendments were examined, and in the end 90 substantive and 144 editorial changes were made. The public conferences on the LPG draft law were attended by 850,000 citizens. In these debates, 34,000 working people took the floor or made their suggestions directly to the preparatory committee for the 12th Farmers Congress. Those suggestions resulted in 95 substantive and 75 editorial changes in the draft law.

This direct working people participation in preparing laws and resolutions goes hand in hand with the creative activity of millions within the scope of socialist competition, the innovator and rationalizer movement, the "Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow," and the "Join-in!" movement to improve working and living conditions in towns and communities.

Abundant are the initiatives from friendly parties and mass organizations for implementing the party and government policy, committed to the well-being of the working people. In that sense, the most extensive and substantial mass movement in GDR history, in preparation of the 35th anniversary of the founding of our republic, became a convincing demonstration of the sovereignty of the working people and the bond between the working class party and all citizens in our country.

Looking at the successful development of our socialist democracy, Comrade Erich Honecker said: "What we wanted and have achieved was to involve the entire working people in debating and deciding on all basic issues in our social development, drawing them directly into the management of the state, the economy, education and culture, into coping with any given tasks and the supervision over the implementation of joint resolutions. We have taken this road to socialist democracy with all resolve and shall stay on it."<sup>7</sup>

What now matters here at a time of creative efforts in preparation for the 11th SED Congress, that was spelled out through a clear orientation and requirement at the ninth Central Committee session. The policy of the main task with its unified economic and social policies is being carried on. Demanding goals have been set for consistently carrying on this course that is aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

Among the priority tasks in getting set for the party congress are the incessant strengthening of our workers and farmers power and the resolute continuation of our tried and tested alliance policy. By enhancing the action capability of the National Front of the GDR and the close cooperation between the local state organs and the citizens we must use still better all the territorial potentials and reserves for economic performance improvements and the shaping of the socialist way of life.

Nothing, for all that, comes by itself. The awareness of being sovereign, of taking part in the exercise of power and thus acting with a commitment to it calls for motivation and mobilization, for persuasive political-ideological mass activities, which includes effective publicity done by the state organs. So we must, comprehensively and with discrimination, carry on the public debate of last year--through a purposive assignment of all the forces of the party and the social organizations, the executive cadre and the deputies.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 116.
2. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke" [Works], Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 481.
3. Cf. Horst Sindermann, "'Man and Power in Our Society," EINHEIT, No 9/10, 1984, pp 785 ff.

4. Egon Krenz, "With Good Deeds into the Communal Elections in the 35th Year of the GDR," "Die Aufgaben der oertlichen Staatsorgane fuer die weitere allseitige Staerkung der DDR" [The Tasks of the Local State Organs in the Further All-round Strengthening of the GDR], Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1984, p 76.
5. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain State Power?" "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 95.
6. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 41.
7. Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben" [From My Life], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 354.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY STUDY REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 7 Dec 84)  
pp 86-87

[Review by Heinz Moche, first secretary of Kamenz SED kreis leadership of book "Hoher Leistungsanstieg in den LPG und VEG--Fuehrungsaufgabe der SED" (Large Increase in Output of LPG's and State Farms--Leadership Task of the SED), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1984]

[Text] Visibly for everyone, the grain production results are making a difference: More than 10 million tons each in 1982 and 1983, last year even 11.5 tons--an average 45 decitons per hectare--the cooperative farmers and workers in our socialist agriculture have been able to harvest. They also got the best hectare yields thus far in potatoes and a fine sugar beet and field forage harvest. State quotas in livestock products were surpassed. Stable cattle stocks and better performances per animal, improved breeding results, smaller losses and a more favorable livestock feed economy caused all that. Growing yields at reduced costs raised the net product and the profit above the plan.

These are results of which the cooperative farmers and workers, the scientists and all other working people in socialist agriculture are proud, by which the table is more richly set in our republic. They are a visible expression of our agricultural efficiency and attest to the continuity of our Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy. They attest to the industrious and expert work of the farmers, a point made at the ninth session of our party's Central Committee, the farmers letting themselves be guided by the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress and the 12th Farmers Congress while creatively applying the basic party resolutions on perfecting management, planning and economic cost accounting, on the agrarian price reform and on the deepening of cooperation relations. They are eloquent testimony to that a thorough consultation on all developmental matters in socialist agriculture with the cooperative farmers and workers greatly helps them understand the rural requirements in the economic strategy.

Therefore they find an honorable obligation in the task to contribute to continued economic improvements in the GDR through high yields in the fields and stable results in the stables and to do what they can to carry on the main task policy that has stood up so well in life. They consequently attribute eminent importance to the deepening of cooperation and to further advances toward comprehensive intensification as the crucial condition for growing efficiency in the

streamlined agricultural reproduction process and connect the performance trend with the further development of rural working and living conditions. How to proceed there and what priorities are to be set--the decisive impulse comes out of the competition appeal by the cooperative farmers in the Maxwalde cooperative in preparation for our party's 11th congress.

The engine for attaining the high status of achievement in the LPG's and state farms, the key for raising it further with all our strength in the villages lies in the agricultural party organizations' leadership activity. That is the assumption from which this brochure, produced by an authors' collective under Guenter Durak and Guenther Grimmer, proceeds; it runs like a red thread through it. The authors are also arguing on a sound theoretical basis and are supplementing their argumentations with copious figures and facts taken from life. Their concern is to bring out the responsibility the communists have in the countryside for implementing the targets set in the SED program and the 10th party congress resolutions and show ways and means of successful leadership activity with reference to practical experience. From these accounts we may select three questions deserving the party worker's special interest.

A decisive way for increasing output and efficiency in agriculture lies in combining science and technology with the cooperative farmers' store of experience--especially that of the best ones of them. It has a firm foundation in the various forms and the high level of training and advanced training, and it matures through resolutely attending the innovator and rationalizer movement. The alpha and omega here is making the most efficient use of the soil. This is a priority in party leadership activity. Science and technology must literally be applied with the highest efficiency in this field. Acreage-related maximum yield conceptions in crop production, where scientific-technical data are coupled with the farmers' store of experiences, therefore play a particularly significant role (cf. pp 52 f). They emphatically determine the efficiency of the soil--crop--animal--soil cycle and prove the master key to production intensification.

Performance improvement is closely linked with deeper cooperation. This is something the authors pay special attention to by reference to cooperation experiences that have shown high efficiency and productivity for years (cf. pp 79 ff). Deepening of cooperation, so they show us, on the basis of division of labor production and the degree of concentration and specialization achieved, will make the streamlined reproduction process more efficient. So it is one of the most important leadership tasks the party has to see to it that the cooperating partners structure their relations in such a way that they fully conform to the growing economic tasks and that they--a point made emphatic at the ninth Central Committee session--more effectively exhaust through joint efforts the funds and potentials of the cooperatives and enterprises.

This includes as much meeting smoothly, proper as to plans and demands, the feed requirements of animal stocks by the cooperation partners in crop production as making a careful and effective use of the forage made available by livestock production. The brochure makes suggestions on how the competition among the cooperating partners can be organized and the exchange of experience can be handled, and on how to set up model roles.



To ensure the needed performance improvements in the LPG's and state farms, performance comparisons and experience exchanges have been most suitable (cf. p 124), of benefit not only to economic results but to the rural working and living conditions as well. Performance comparison leads to higher efficiency especially when leadership activity pays attention to making, under any given concrete conditions, the maximum value achieved its criterion and ways and means for achieving it are compared and evaluated. Then causes for unjustified production and performance disparities can be uncovered and management decisions can be taken for surmounting them.

This study reflects throughout the dynamics of social processes and the grown political maturity of the class of the cooperative farmers, as convincingly expressed by the most recent competition commitments on the part of agricultural production collectives. It explains the demands made on a higher grade of party work, has a great deal that is constructive to say to party workers, cadres in the state and economic organs, people in the practical field and teachers and students, and deserves their attention.

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HUNGARY

'FREEDOM OF PRESS' PROBLEMS UNDER SOCIALISM EXAMINED

Budapest JEL-KEP in Hungarian No 3, 1984 pp 5-17

[Article by Mihaly Bihari: "Freedom of the Press and Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] Freedom of the press is the qualitatively most valuable variant of the freedoms of speech and expression. Following a number of studies that we published on this subject, the author investigates the question from the viewpoint of the entire political system and democratic power structure. He attempts an analysis of freedom of the press, based on political science.

The development of socialist democracy is a measure of socialist society's "maturity." This is a long-range task of our time, one that determines in many respects socialist society's historical development. It is a task of historical proportions and importance, and at the same time it is also historically specific.

For the very reason that it is historically important and specific, the task of developing and establishing socialist democracy is once again a question of vital importance to Hungarian society, one that has been raised and must be answered at the level of sociohistorical alternatives. I am emphasizing "once again" because also in 1945--the year that brought us respite, an opportunity to look around us and think through the historical alternatives--the various parties and political movements, the scientists and politicians were unanimous in their opinion that "democracy, everything that this word implies, is a question of vital importance to Hungarian society after the catastrophe."<sup>1</sup> There was much debate on the specific guaranties, content and forms of democracy. But nobody could dispute what Peter Veres said as one of the speakers in the series of lectures on democracy: that the first priority was to institutionalize democracy in human and civil rights. "Democracy must be institutionalized. This is the first step," he said, "so that it will not become an empty slogan or the fraternizing democracy" of the former bourgeois middle class.<sup>2</sup> We failed to suitably develop the objective techniques, institutions and guaranties of democracy. And whatever we built at that time was soon pushed aside by the "wrong answer" that the political dictatorship of the early 1950's gave to this question of vital importance to Hungarian society.

The fact that development of the political system and power structure's democratization is once again a question of vital importance to Hungarian and socialist society does not mean that we are in a situation similar to the one in 1945. The situation is incomparably much better; but the responsibility is that much greater specifically because we have far more to lose, and the possibility of a "wrong answer" is not excluded. Today we are at the crossroads where we must choose not between the alternatives of capitalism or socialism, but between what can be summed up as alternatives of the quality of socialism; and there are also palpable and recognizable wrong answers that are unworthy of socialism. Also for this reason, I believe, it is not pointless to debate socialist democracy's system of institutions and its constituents, to argue in their favor, and to call attention to their importance.

One of the most important tasks within socialist democracy's system of institutions is the establishment of political publicity. These days, the political public must be "made," for it is not simply "given," writes J. Habermas.<sup>3</sup> With which, I think, we can fully agree. In shaping political publicity, and even in its creation and operation, publicity of the press plays not simply a role but an outstanding role. Moreover, publicity of the press in a wider sense (in addition to the publicity of written or printed ideas, also the publicity of television, radio and film, i.e., the publicity of society's mass communication system) is an indispensable condition of political publicity that performs a society-integrating and politicizing function. This statement, of course, is nothing new; new perhaps is only the broadening of publicity of the press to include the entire mass communication system. For both Sandor Fekete and Geza Paskandi, the two authors who discussed freedom of the press earlier on the pages of this journal, have emphasized the importance of Kossuth's statement defining freedom of the press as political democracy's most essential element, the most effective political organizing factor through the free expression of ideas.<sup>4</sup> Since then the freedom of association, which guarantees the right to employ the "organizational weapon," has gained ascendancy among the political freedoms. Without its own press (party organ, a movement's own newspaper, and access to printing facilities and distribution), however, the "organizational weapon" is a blunt weapon that is forced toward the underground press.

Naturally, the range of topics on freedom of the press can be analyzed from many different aspects, each of which is justifiable and serves to broaden our knowledge. As one of the approaches considered feasible, I on my part have chosen to start out and examine freedom of the press from the aspect of the entire political system and democratic power structure; i.e., to attempt its analysis based on political science. It will be unnecessary to prove, I believe, that freedom of the press and its publicity--or the freedom to assemble written ideas, to use Geza Paskandi's very apt and vivid expression--and the political system's democratic institutions are closely interrelated.<sup>5</sup> But perhaps it will be interesting to briefly review the place that freedom of the press and political publicity occupy, and the roles they play, in democracy's comprehensive system of institutions.

#### Political System's Democracy, Freedoms of the Press and Expression

Of course, the political power structure's democratic content cannot be perceived as an aggregate of abstract slogans, requirements, and systems of

institutions. But it is obvious that neither can it be tied to the concrete solutions for some specific organizational, institutional or operating mechanism or other. In case of the first mistake, democracy becomes an abstract model that is divorced from space and time, and from society's specific objectives and institutions; the fact that this abstract model cannot be realized causes disillusionment on the one hand, while on the other it evokes in the political leadership a standpoint that intolerantly and rigidly rejects even the core of truth, the justification of the partial elements. But at least as dangerous, if not more so, is the other type of mistake that equates democracy with, and perfunctorily links it to, the given system of institutions and the mode of exercising power that have evolved. For in this case some people--regrettably, the very ones who occupy top positions in the political mechanism--will regard any request for change, any reform idea or aspiration, as a direct attack against power and the political system containing democratic partial elements, specifically as the weakening of democracy and the undermining of the power structure.

It is difficult to avoid these two mistakes. It is difficult to elaborate the so-called "objective techniques" of democracy and freedom (Istvan Bibó), the institutional guaranties of organizing and becoming a democratic society and collective, the institutions and the organizational and statutory solutions that will prevent the concentration of power, a too strong and one-sided hierarchic dependence; to make the solutions permanent; to preserve and integrate the systems of democratic instruments and mechanisms that were developed historically and are able to function also amidst the changed social conditions; and at the same time to make these systems serve the changed social conditions, taking into consideration the historically and regionally specific constraints and their effects.

On the plane of "medium-level theories" and in the field of abstraction, so to speak, I will attempt to briefly summarize my views on what I regard as the essence of socialist democracy, and on its guaranties and instruments, including freedom of the press.

1. Marxism's standpoint holds that there is no generally valid conception of democracy. Democracy is determined by its class content and is historically specific. In the present stage of our development, therefore, I would sum up the historically specific content of democracy as follows: we may say that there is democracy when the conflicts of interest arising amidst the conditions of a socialist society (and therefore socialist in their content) can be expressed in the society's political system as differences of political opinion, and these interest-determined political wills are able to participate, through the political collectives and bodies, in the preparation, adoption and implementation of the decisions, and in controlling these three phases.

Closely interrelated conditions and guaranties must be established, and organizational instruments must be provided, for the realization of democracy as the positive content of the exercise of political power. Democratic exercise of power cannot be perfected so long as socialist democracy's system of conditions and system of instruments have gaps in them. Until then, attention is focused on providing the missing conditions and instruments, which appears as one of democracy's substantive requirements.

2. Social democracy's conditions include the following institutions:

- a. The political security and freedom of individuals and collectives must be guaranteed in their relations with other individuals and collectives, and with political power's organizations. The system of civil rights guarantees this political security and freedom. Perfection of the system of civil-right guaranties is a constant task, and hence a precondition for the realization of democracy. Until this system of guaranties becomes relatively complete, it awaits realization as one of democracy's substantive requirements.
- b. Another precondition for the assertion of democracy is to guarantee the political equality of all individuals, respectively of all collectives. We are speaking of political, not social, equality. By which I mean that every individual and collective may cling to his or its political opinion and is free to strive to assert his or its interest-motivated political will.

The guaranties of political equality include protection of the rights of the majority and minority. These rights and obligations must be defined so that the minority may become the majority, and conversely the majority may become the minority, in the democratic process of asserting their political will. Protection of the majority's rights is indispensable to asserting the majority's will, and to the adopted decision's effective and uniform implementation. Protection of the minority's rights (recognition of the minority's right to maintain its view and to argue in its favor, while uniformly implementing the democratically adopted majority will) is essential for corrections and the unfolding of reforms, for the timely criticism of what earlier was the correct majority standpoint, for the development of creative political skills, and for greater political activity. The exaggeration of either side's rights or making them absolute, whether those of the majority or minority, will lead to the same undesirable result: the dictatorship of a small minority. Without protection for the minority's opinion, the sweeping assertion of the majority's power will gradually suppress all minority opinion and perpetuate rule by some minority acting in the name of the conformist, "organized" majority. To absolutize the majority's opinion is certain to lead to rule by a minority, behind the "fig leaf" of organized majority opinion. When the majority asserts its rights in an absolute manner over the minority, everyone will fear remaining in the minority, especially if it leads to denunciation or excommunication, the humiliating retraction of previous opinions, and the loss of jobs. Most people in this case will seek the "anticipated" majority standpoint--the standpoint of the minority that happens to be in power, presented as the majority opinion--and will adapt to this standpoint from the very beginning, lest they remain in the minority. The right to adhere to the minority opinion does not include the right to question implementation, to sabotage uniform implementation, or to carry out perfunctorily the decided political actions.

This would frustrate effective action by any political organization or collective, render uniform implementation impossible, and actually mean

the abandonment of the "organization" as the most effective political weapon of modern times. Such an excessively strong position of the minority gradually increases the demand to strive for absolute unanimity at all cost, which can be achieved only by antidemocratic means. The absolutized protection of the minority's rights necessarily leads to where "organized" monolithic unity and the power structure's unquestionable unambiguity will be the form that also the majority prefers, for fear of anarchy and inefficiency. In the final outcome this would rule out the possibility of voicing any minority opinion.

Relations between the majority and minority (or perhaps several different minorities) and their system of mutual guaranties contain in condensed form the most important constituents of democracy: self-government based on political equality and freedom; exercise of power through debate and reasoning; and the power mechanism that preserves diversity and constantly forges a new unity from it. The democratic system of power simultaneously ensures the sharing of power with the minorities, even when democratic order and discipline oblige them to carry out the majority's will with which they disagree. But the "organized" majority, behind which always some minority exercises power, excludes the majority from the exercise of power. A policy of sharing power--a power mechanism that ensures participation in the exercise of power, strives for legitimization and demands loyalty--must necessarily recognize the democratic rights of the minorities. In a certain sense, the democratic sharing of power between the majority and minority, through a system that combines and mutually balances their rights and obligations, is the best indicator of how democratic and mature the exercise of power is, and of its ability to renew itself.

The two conditions for the substantive assertion of democracy (the two pillars of democracy: guaranteed political security and freedom, and guaranteed political equality) are indispensable but not sufficient conditions. In addition to the preconditions of democracy, it is also necessary to develop a suitable system of organizational instruments for the exercise of power.

3. Democracy's system of instruments differs from the conditions of democracy primarily in that the conditions of democracy are expressed mainly in institutions regulated by statute, and therefore they constitute the sum total of relatively stable and historically less changing institutions once they have been established; whereas constant change and adjustment to the changing sociopolitical conditions are the natural state of democracy's system of instruments.

a. Within democracy's system of instruments, I would single out first of all the system of organizations that brings to the surface, and ensures political expression for, the interests that actually exist within society and determine the political opinions and wills. This system of organizations must adapt dynamically to society's actually existing set of values that differ in their significance and content and are constantly changing over time. This includes the right to form, amidst the changing social conditions, new political organizations differing from the existing ones. I regard as essential that democracy's system of organizations ensure the surfacing of society's most important class, stratum and group interests,

instead of favoring the surfacing of nonessential conflicts of interests, because otherwise the most important assertions of interest will be transferred to the nonformalized sphere, along paths that neither the political leadership nor society is able to predict, and thus these assertions of interest will become politically unmanagable.

- b. Democracy's second indispensable instrument is a suitable system of political control, which essentially must cover the three phases of exercising political power: (1) preparation of the political decisions; (2) the adoption of the decisions, i.e., the decision-influencing role of the individuals, collectives and institutions participating in these processes, and the order of steering the decisions through to their adoption; and (3) the phase of implementing the adopted decisions.

Without such political publicity and control, society would have no overview of the system of political accountability and of the relations of power. When there are serious shortcomings in democracy's system of instruments, the tenor of the democratic exercise of power is unable to assert itself.

- c. The third component of democracy's system of instruments is the guaranteeing of equal and complete access to politically relevant information, the functioning of political publicity organized through the system of mass communication.

Briefly stated, we need a system of mass communication responsible to the democratic public, and democratically organized political publicity.

The establishment of both the conditions of democracy and its system of instruments is a practical political task and remains a substantive requirement of democracy until both are developed and become consolidated. Thereafter they exist as formal guaranties of democracy.

The free functioning of the press or, in a wider sense, the mass communication system is the most important means and guaranty of establishing political publicity. Without political publicity, the content and conditions of democracy described above cannot unfold. The politicization, political expression and reconciliation of interests, and the reaching of political compromises and consensuses cannot be imagined without the help of the press and other communication media. Freedom of the press and political publicity are the most important condition for the democratic exercise of power, and their absence is the main obstacle to the democratic transformation of power. Therefore the first requirement in the process of democratic development is guaranteed freedom of the press, the establishment of democratic political publicity, and the development of an effective mass communication system that is accountable to society.

#### Essence of Freedom of the Press

Freedom of the press can be examined from several aspects: from the viewpoint of statutory regulation; from the viewpoint of production, access to printing

capacity, distribution, publication, and the mechanism of banning publication; from the viewpoint of copyright protection for the journalists or authors appearing in newspapers, etc.

Starting out from the aspect of power and the political system, I believe that two interrelated elements constitute the essence of freedom of the press and political publicity. The first element is freedom to "assemble" written ideas (cf. Geza Paskandi's quoted expression) and to let them clash. In this sense, freedom of the press is the new quality, the highest variant, of the freedoms of speech, conscience and expression. The second element is the assertion of the historically evolved functions of the press and political publicity.

Many authors have written about the importance and content of the first element, among them also Sandor Fekete and Geza Paskandi in their cited studies. On my part, I will attempt an analysis of the second element. But first, allow me to quote a brief but meaningful summary by John Stuart Mill, one of the greatest advocates of liberty, on why freedom of the press and freedom of expression must be ensured: "We have now recognized the necessity to the mental well-being of mankind (on which all their other well-being depends) of freedom of opinion, and the freedom of expression of opinion, on four distinct grounds; which we will now briefly recapitulate.

"First, if any opinion is compelled to silence, that opinion may, for aught we can certainly know, be true. To deny this is to assume our own infallibility.

"Secondly, though the silenced opinion be an error, it may, and very commonly does, contain a portion of truth; and since the general or prevailing opinion on any subject is rarely or never the whole truth, it is only by the collision of adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied.

"Thirdly, even if the received opinion be not only true, but the whole truth; unless it is suffered to be, and actually is vigorously and earnestly contested, it will, by most of those who receive it, be held in the manner of a prejudice, with little comprehension or feeling of its rational grounds.

"And not only this, but, fourthly, the meaning of the doctrine itself will be in danger of being lost, or enfeebled and deprived of its vital effect on the character and conduct: the dogma becoming a mere formal profession, inefficacious for good but cumbering the ground, and preventing the growth of any real and heartfelt conviction, from reason or personal experience."<sup>6</sup>

#### Political Functions of Publicity of the Press

As a political institution, publicity of the press is a part of society's political publicity, with fairly distinct political functions. These functions have evolved and reached their fulfillment over time. And it is obvious that we can expect the emergence of new functions on the one hand, and changes in the content and nature of the existing functions on the other.



The political functions of publicity of the press can be analyzed in relation to the political system and entire society. The press and its publicity can be analyzed also from other aspects (communications theory, constitutional law, etc.) besides their political functions. Examining the functions of publicity of the press from the viewpoint of the political system's functioning and the democratic nature of power, we are able to distinguish the following, relatively separate, functions:

1. The first function of the press and its publicity to evolve historically is unquestionably their informative or information-transmitting function.

Development of the informative function of the press has been and remains a precondition of political publicity and of politicizing the public on the scale of entire society.

The performance, restriction, and selection mechanism of this function basically determine the role that the press plays in establishing political publicity, through the dissemination of information. If the informative function is too selective and restricted, then the press loses its opportunity to be a publicity-organizing force. It is the press that enables wide masses to participate at all in publicity, to be information consumers; and the individual information consumers to become citizens and public figures thinking in terms of their community, people, nation and even more broadly.

When the press loses its credibility because of distorted and strongly selective information, it condemns the individual reader to the role of consumer of nonpolitical information.

2. The agitation and propaganda function of the press and its publicity. No press publishes just news and information. It also argues directly or indirectly, interprets, comments, and wants to convince its readership of something. This is a natural function of the press, one of fundamental importance, which Lenin recognized when he characterized the press, among other things, as "the collective agitator and propagandist."

The agitation and propaganda function can be exercised at the expense of reliable factual reporting, and the reliable press that reports facts can become a propaganda press. "As we have mentioned, propaganda in our interpretation is one of the basic processes of influencing the masses. The other is agitation. In the forming of public opinion, the latter manifests itself primarily in the system of the text, whereas propaganda may be present--simultaneously or alternately--in the systems of the text, underlying text, and the environment."<sup>7</sup> The success and effect of the propaganda function are based on trust in the informative function. A press that distorts, misinterprets and partially suppresses facts is unable to exercise its propaganda function effectively. Thus it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that reliable reporting is the best propaganda function.

3. The manipulative function is a type of special influencing that is a prominent phenomenon in political life. It is not simply persuasion, rather it ties in with the nature of the secondary teleological reification (Gyorgy Lukacs) of political actions. In the course of manipulation, the purpose formulated by

secondary reification becomes the individuals' primary objective in such a way that the individuals, by pursuing and realizing their primary objectives, fulfill also the secondary purpose that otherwise is in conflict with their own interests. The individuals are unaware of this conflict, and therefore they dutifully maintain and stabilize the manipulation mechanism.<sup>8</sup>

4. Competing and correcting function. This function can best ensure that a block of information on some fact will be as objective as possible. Because every press or news source does not simply report the news, but reports it from its own special viewpoint (often intentionally mixing fact with interpretation), it is essential to ensure alternative sources of information, and opportunity to choose among competing news sources is a fundamental civil right. Naturally, every press or news source is committed; it neither can nor should abandon its commitment; but it must openly profess its commitment, making it unambiguously clear to the reader.

Thus the main guaranty that the individual can obtain objective and complete information on a given subject is his ability to take advantage, in forming his own opinion, of the competition among the committed sources of information, and of their practice of correcting one another. "Not the violent conflict between parts of the truth, but the silent suppression of half the truth is the formidable evil: there is always hope when people are forced to hear both --and perhaps more (M.B.)--sides; it is only when they attend to one that errors harden into prejudices, and truth itself ceases to have the effect of truth, by being exaggerated into falsehood."<sup>9</sup>

5. The criticizing function is a manifold criticizing function that cannot be limited to criticism of the official standpoint, nor of course to the constant criticism of society, driven by some sort of nation- and people-educating attitude. This function must be an all-around one. It must be guaranteed that any social phenomenon that deserves press criticism because of its significance or nature may be a topic for the critical press.

6. Political collective-organizing and society-integrating function. The most effective way of organizing political collectives today is to use the "organizational weapon" by founding an organization. Closely linked to this fundamental civil rights is the integrating function of the given one or more organizations' press. In an interest-divided society, political collectives are common-interest groups distinct from one another. Publicity of the press plays an important role in reaching political compromises based on a community of interests, in forming a political consensus, in making the groups and strata aware of their interests, in accurately defining the opposing views, in the elimination of phantom interests, etc. This collective-organizing, group-awareness-enhancing and integrating function of publicity of the press is the most fundamental organizing and motive force in political life, and it is a basic instrument from the viewpoint of forming, breaking up, and forming anew compromises and political consensuses. "For the publicity of interests is a part of their consistent institutionalization."<sup>10</sup>

7. Decision-influencing function. The press plays an outstanding role in making public the process of adopting political decisions. Not only in presenting

the elaborated decision alternatives, and in reporting the standpoints of certain organizations, individuals and decision-makers, but also in making accountability for the decisions controllable, palpable and assertable. Within the framework of publicity of the press, of course, also decision alternatives are elaborated and proposed, but primarily in the professional press.<sup>11</sup>

8. Legitimizing function. The role of the press and its publicity is--once again--outstanding in legitimizing, and gaining acceptance for, a given political system and power mechanism, and in developing political confidence in the existing regime. And of course, also in raising doubts about the legitimacy of the given political system, in reinforcing the tensions, and in undermining political trust and confidence. This is unambiguously evident from specific analyses of the political life of various countries. In a given political system, the opposition press also can have a legitimizing function, even if it is criticizing relentlessly some specific, and perhaps essential, element of the political mechanism. If not directed against the system as a whole, sharp criticism of a government program, actions of a political leader or a concluded international agreement can reinforce very convincingly--although indirectly, we must admit--the system's legitimacy, by the very fact that the criticism has been made public. The best legitimizing mechanism is not a forced propaganda function. There is no mutual substitution between the two functions. They must assert themselves side by side.<sup>12</sup>

9. Political power-controlling function. As a political factor, the press and its publicity are able to exercise this function only when, and to the extent that, the press itself is a relatively sovereign factor of power, a recognized element of the institutionalized system of political power. The power-controlling function of publicity of the press cannot be limited to controlling the central managing and directing sphere of power. The local, self-governing, functional and branch, organizational and nonformalized mechanisms of power must be the subjects of publicity of the press, in the same way as the central organs of power and their activity.

10. Commercial or profit-seeking function. While the commercial function is not only fundamental to the bourgeois press, but is asserted in many instances at the expense of the other functions, the socialist press--being a state monopoly--mostly ignores this basic function. The monopoly situation of certain press organs (primarily of the political ones), central state subsidies, and the mandatory subscriptions for the central political papers have relegated to the background the profit-seeking function of the press, which is detrimental primarily to the professionalism of the press. This special situation--in combination with the requirement of political reliability that overrides the requirements of professional competence--enables many professionally weak journalists and editors to remain in the production of newspapers. Because this function has been relegated to the background, the point--regrettably--is not only that this deadwood, retained in newspaper production due to the absence of selection, undermines the credibility of the eminently qualified journalists, editors and mass communication experts. More importantly, such a strongly counterselected team of experts is unable to suitably exercise any of the fundamental functions of publicity of the press: from the agitation and propaganda function, to the criticizing, collective-organizing and integrating, decision-influencing and legitimizing functions.

11. Intermediary function between society and institutionalized power. The press and its publicity are able to perform this function only when the position of the press is relatively sovereign, and the structure of publicity of the press is pluralistic. When essentially every press organ is the central authority's agitator and propagandist, or the controlling role of the central authority is too strong (through open, institutionalized censorship, or the people have been made aware of a censorship mechanism that functions through the mechanisms of appointment, employment and accountability), then this intermediary function will act only in one direction: from the central authority to society. In this case there is too much emphasis on the agitation and propaganda function, and the distinction between factual reporting and interpretation is obscured. The press becomes one-sided because its function of criticizing and wanting to improve central authority ceases, and its society-improving, enlightening and criticizing function becomes the dominant; the decision-influencing, political community-organizing and society-integrating, and legitimizing functions practically cease. The effectiveness of publicity of the press is measured not on the basis of how it performs all its functions, but of its limited set of tasks, which results in counterselection.

The intermediary function of publicity of the press in the other direction, from society to the institutions of central authority, is at least as important as in the first direction. Geza Paskandi's statement expresses this very accurately: "The essence of freedom of the press--in our country, I believe--is that the leaders of the people obtain from 'clear or at least relatively clear' sources the forecasts essential to them. No matter how paradoxical this may sound, freedom of the press is at least as much in the interest of those who hold power as of those who do not share in the exercise of power directly. This applies particularly to a society such as ours, one that wishes to banish even the mildest social formula of exclusion from power."<sup>13</sup> To this I would only add that the interest of those in power is not only to learn "from a clear source" about the movements, stresses, needs and demands within society, but to learn about them at all. Knowledge not gained "from a clear source"--the completely doctored, selectively blocked and manipulatively "organized" information--is harmful not only because it distorts, increases the redundancy of the mass of data necessary for a decision and the correct assessment of facts and, in a peculiar manner, compels those in power to make decisions and form judgments that are wrong to begin with. It also makes the recipient of the information complacent, until the catastrophe occurs.

One-way intermediacy is a function forced on the press, and not one that it assumes voluntarily. This depends on the power structure, on how developed its democracy is, and on guaranteeing the relative sovereignty of the press. The mechanism of blocking and doctoring information is closely linked with the nature of power, and is not a question of personal mentality or courage.

12. Political socializing function, by forming public opinion and society's political culture. Publicity of the press is able to perform this very complex function thanks to its almost unique opportunity to link society's set of political values and its set of moral values. By comparing these two sets of values, making public their collisions and uncovering their disharmonies, publicity of the press reinforces the positive values, sets a pattern and example

for society, and is able to strengthen and influence public opinion and society's political culture (the degree of its tolerance, its culture of debate, its aspiration to integrate, awareness of the democratic moral code and sense of responsibility, etc.). Publicity of the press plays a particularly important role in avoiding two main dangers: one is moralizing politics, and the other is politics without moral behavior and restraint. A coherent system of moral and political values, norms, requirements and ideals is not simply the concern of those who personify power and exercise it, but an element of decisive importance in strengthening society's democratic political culture and in determining political behavior.

The press and its publicity are the most important agent and means of society-wide political socialization. Naturally, the content, nature and socializing effectiveness of the sets of political and moral values that are transmitted and accepted within the framework of the processes of political socialization, and those of political culture, do not depend exclusively on publicity of the press, but it is hardly possible to deny its eminent role.

To summarize what we have discussed so far, my opinion is that the press and its publicity, investigated from the aspect of political science, can be said to be nothing other than the realization of the listed functions of the press, and the securing of the organizational, legal and political guarantees necessary for that purpose, whereby the "assembly of written ideas and opinions" and the establishment of political publicity become possible.

Without the realization of the listed functions, when the power mechanism prevents their realization, we can speak only of limited, stunted, merely "bureaucratic publicity of the press." Democratic publicity of the press is an instrument and condition of the democracy of political power, and its substantive element and component as well. Its importance, weight, and role in the democratic functioning of power are evident also from the fact that freedom of the press, and through it the establishment and guaranteeing of a democratic press and political publicity, figure prominently--if not as the first--among the demands of every political movement and program fighting for democratic change.

#### Social Constraints on Democratic Freedom of the Press and Its Publicity

It will be interesting to continue our discussion of the democracy of freedom of the press and its publicity, with the clarification of a few questions that may seem trivial: Whose freedom is freedom of the press? Against whom is it asserted? And what is its content?

In my opinion, freedom of the press is a freedom of society's members, of the citizens. It is not the press that must be made free of society (cf. the exposition of Marx and Engels in conjunction with "Critique of the Gotha Programme," namely their objection to the expression "free popular state," because the state must be subordinated to the people and society, and not made free of them), rather the citizens must be guaranteed the freedom to use the press to publish and disseminate their opinions. This principle was embodied already in our first press law. Section 1 of Law No XVIII of 1848 declared: "Everyone

may freely express and disseminate his opinion through the press." Section 1 of our second press law, Law No XIV of 1914, repeated this principle practically word for word: "Everyone is free to express and disseminate his opinion through the press."

Freedom to express any idea or opinion (except, of course, ideas that violate the rights and interests of citizens, or the constitutional order) is obviously the right of the citizens, of society's members. Abolition of any "preliminary examination" (censorship) guaranteed, and still guarantees, the assertion of this right. These are achievements of the past century, as are the press regulations as well.

However, press censorship may assume not only the form of a preliminary ban on publication, but also of subsequent accountability for what has been published. Here I have in mind not the right of the falsely accused individual or organization to demand rectification under the press laws or to sue for libel, but the system of calling subsequently to account the editor, the person responsible for editorial policy, the publisher, and the institution that owns the paper. If in this mechanism the sovereignty of the newspaper's founder, financial backer and manager, and of the author (journalist or citizen), is not ensured, then there obviously will develop an effective informal censorship on the principle of shared and shifted responsibility, from the organs responsible for editorial policy, through the publisher, chief editor and the author.

It is to be feared that this system of responsibility and liability relations makes the press free of the citizens and society, operates it as a bureaucratic element of power, creating a type of organized "bureaucratic publicity" and institutionalizing it as the most effective instrument for preventing the development of democratic political publicity.

Thus freedom of the press must be enacted in a very specific legal formulation, and institutionalized with instruments of political power, to ensure the assertion of its real content. Here we come to the question of against whom, in relation to what, must the sovereignty of the press be ensured to guarantee that freedom of the press will mean not only the central authority's freedom to use the press, but also the freedom of the citizens and society to do so. In my opinion, there are three relations in which we can examine a sovereignty-ensuring system of rights and obligations. First, the guaranteeing of freedom of the press, and freedoms of opinion and expression, in relation to the agencies of institutionalized power. The first provisions of every press law regulate the rights and obligations in this relationship. In every country, state agencies have the authority to license the founding, publication and distribution of a newspaper. It is desirable that the requirements for obtaining a license be easy to meet, and that there be no discrimination; i.e., that any citizen be able to start a paper. On this occasion I do not wish to dwell on the legal solution (licensing or obligation to report, conditions of legality, political conditions, the right of appeal when the application for a license is rejected, etc.). Instead, I would like to emphasize the power and political content of freedom of the press: the fact that if the power mechanism does not ensure the sovereignty and freedom of the press once a paper has been licensed in due course and on the basis of the statutory conditions, then the excessively tight bonds of state and political accountability, direction

and constraint make questionable the assertion of freedom of the press as a civil right. This of course is not a hymn in praise of the uncommitted press, because to me it is quite obvious that every paper is committed. Thus we are not talking about the abandonment of commitments, but about the citizen's guaranteed freedom of the press, with a free choice of commitments.

Secondly, freedom of the press can be analyzed and has to be entrenched with guaranties as the freedom of one paper in relation to another. The desirable content of this relationship can best be ensured by dismantling situations associated with monopolized positions of power and the monopoly power of the press, and by ensuring the political equality and democracy of publicity of the press.

Thirdly, a free press and the system of sovereign positions as its basis can ensure freedom of the press in relation to the citizens and their organizations. Dictatorship of the public and the terrorism of public opinion are likewise serious threats to the assertion of freedom of the press. Therefore, the sovereign functioning of freedom of the press must be ensured in this relation as well, except when the citizens' personal rights would be violated.

The guaranties of freedom of the press in these three relations can be ensured by a complicated system of interdependent rights and obligations, elaborated in a differentiated manner. A distortion in any of the three relations leads to the restriction and distortion of publicity of the press, and thereby to disturbances in the functioning of broader political publicity.

On the basis of all this, I believe, the content of freedom of the press can be summed up as the citizens' freedom to establish and operate political publicity in the wider sense. The freedoms of speech and expression are the most valuable and effective instruments enabling the members of society, their collectives and organizations to become elements of power in the democratic transformation and exercise of political power, through the functioning of freedom of the press as a political institution.

In my opinion, the democratic transformation of our political institutions and their spectacular development during the past 25 years provide ample room and opportunity for significant progress also in a so far less explored sphere of socialist democracy: in the area of democratic political publicity and freedom of the press.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Demokracia" [Democracy], a collection published by the Philosophy Faculty of Peter Pazmany University of Sciences, Budapest, University Press, 1945, p 3.
2. Peter Veres, "The Peasantry and Democracy," in "Demokracia," pp 202, 204.
3. Jurgen Habermans, "A tarsadalmi nyilvanossag szerkezetvaltozasa" [Structural Change of the Public Sphere], Gondolat Publishing House, Budapest 1971, p 289.

4. Sandor Fekete, "The Press and Its Freedom," JEL-KEP, No 1, 1982, pp 5-20. As mottos, Sandor Fekete quotes Lajos Kossuth (1832): ". . . if they just give us freedom of the press, I will not despair of freedom and prosperity for my nation"; and Sandor Petofi (1848) "Gain freedom of the press." Geza Paskandi, "A Free Press and Freedom Synonyms," JEL-KEP, No 2, 1982, pp 14-33.
5. In his soaring essay on the evident requirements of guaranteeing freedom of the press, published in 1859, John Stuart Mill writes: "The time, it is to be hoped, is gone by when any defense would be necessary of the 'liberty of the press' as one of the securities against corrupt and tyrannical government. No argument, we may suppose, can now be needed against permitting a legislature or an executive, not identified in interest with the people, to prescribe opinions to them, and determine what doctrines or what arguments they shall be allowed to hear." John Stuart Mill, "A szabadsagrol" [On Liberty], Kriterion Publishing House, Bucharest, 1983, p 63.
6. John Stuart Mill, op. cit., pp 126-127.
7. For details, see Tamas Szecsko, "Kommunikacios rendszer - koznapi kommunikacio" [Communication System - Everyday Communication], Akademia Publishing House, Budapest, 1971, pp 163 et seq.
8. This is exactly what Marx meant by his "they are doing it, but are unaware of it" formula. Herbert Marcuse described this peculiar, alienation-maintaining social mechanism in his essay "One-Dimensional Man."
9. John Stuart Mill, op. cit., p 125. Continuing the quoted chain of thought, he writes: "And since there are few mental attributes more rare than that judicial faculty which can sit in intelligent judgment between two sides of a question, of which only one is represented by an advocate before it, truth has no chance but in proportion as every side of it, every opinion that embodies any fraction of the truth, not only finds advocates, but is so advocated as to be listened to." (Op. cit., pp 125-126.)
10. Gabor Fodor, "Nyilvanossag, kozvelemen, tomegkommunikacio" [The Public, Public Opinion, Mass Communication], Social Sciences Institute of the MSZMP Central Committee, Budapest, 1976, p 85. For details on the political public's and mass communication system's function of transmitting the system of interests and the set of values, see Gabor Fodor, op. cit., pp 84-87.
11. For details, see Gabor Fodor, op. cit., pp 71-80.
12. "The beliefs we have most warrant for have no safeguard to rest on, but a standing invitation to the whole world to prove them unfounded." John Stuart Mill, op. cit., p 73.
13. Geza Paskandi, op. cit., p 17.



HUNGARY

IMPACT OF MASS COMMUNICATION ON HUNGARIAN SOCIETY ANALYZED

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 10, 1984 pp 7-13

[Article by Tamas Szecsko: "Mass Communication and the New Algorithms of Life"]

[Text] Over and above political action's system of motives, the system of accountability, and the culture of behavior (in public life), also the culture of information at the personal and group levels--in other words, the citizen's active, selective and critical attitude to information regarding public life--is an essential constituent of civic culture. Ever since the first waves of the worldwide information explosion reached our country as well, the questions of society's information culture have been in the cross fire of scientific and political debates with increasing frequency. In the following we wish to contribute some comments to these debates from a definite viewpoint: the foreseeable development of mass communication.

Forecast?

In the period in which we wish to analyze the unfolding of our society's information culture, our system of mass communication has been undergoing change from the very beginning and has entered a state of structural and functional rearrangement. Without being able to analyze in detail on this occasion the circumstances of this transformation that actually began in the late 1960's, but which can really be felt since the second half of the 1970's, I merely wish to point out that the changes are the combined effect of three simultaneous groups of factors that mutually reinforce one another.

One group of factors is the process of economic reform that in most areas of public life demands a larger volume of faster and, in a sense, "harder" information from society's every information-generating subsystem, including mass communication. Furthermore, the reform has underscored the consumer's (in mass communication, the public's) autonomy, has spread the viewpoint of economic efficiency, and has presented competition as desirable. For the time being, these motive forces and new value emphases that start out from the economy (and which, of course, assert themselves in a contradictory manner also there) have produced alternatives of thought, rather than of action, in mass communication. But we find that they, as a new form of approach, have indeed entered the field of communication-policy decisions, even though mostly the primacy of the political considerations gains emphasis in such decisions.

(Already the fact that we are speaking with increasing frequency of decisions on publicity policy, communication policy and information policy as separate areas of decision-making that fit together like a nest of boxes is actually an indication of the profound changes.)

The second group of factors is directly political by nature. But since in several points this group is organically linked to the process of economic reform, it is also suitable for transforming the economic interrelations into political considerations, thus making them acceptable to the logic of communication policy. At the core of this group of factors we find the transformation of our system of political institutions, and within it primarily the development of socialist democracy, the fostering of civic culture, and the encouragement of active and responsible participation in the political processes. As one of the most important factors of political socialization, of course, mass communication itself senses these movements (in its institutions and structure) and also conveys them to the public, for this is one of mass communication's functions.

The third group of factors producing change is the explosion-like development of communication technology that has been experienced worldwide since the second half of the 1970's, the first waves of which have already reached Hungary as well. In view of the fact that the technical and technological components of this "explosion" have often been discussed lately not only in professional publications but in the weeklies and dailies for the general public as well, here we merely wish to emphasize that these changes are taking mass communication simultaneously in two, seemingly opposite, directions. On the one hand, the changes enable mass communication to supply the public (its audience!) with information in far more individualized packaging than previously, tailored to the particular interests and needs of individuals, groups and small communities. On the other hand, the changes have greatly enhanced that the local, regional and national mass communication systems--in the same way as other information systems--are integrating into global systems encompassing the entire world. (To understand why this contradiction is only a seeming one, it will suffice to cite the close interdependence of local cable TV systems and direct broadcasting satellites: The development of coaxial or optical cable systems, which to a large extent are able to supply individual demand, is boosting also global communication, because the direct broadcasting satellites are able to transmit their program signals to more individual receivers at lower cost through the cable systems' high-performance antennas than when a small parabolic antenna is installed for each home, at a higher cost per terminal.)

Thus the three groups of factors (economical, political, and technical) are propelling the mass communication system in the direction of change. To gain some idea of the magnitude of this propelling force, we must bear in mind that the simultaneous effect of all three groups of factors is rather rare in history. Actually it is rare for even two factors to exert their influence at the same time. (In Hungary, for example, we have been able to witness this since the late 1950's, when a political process--namely consolidation--and the appearance of a technical novelty--television--began to jointly transform mass communication.)

The synchronous effect of the three forces nevertheless has not produced any striking or systems changes in mass communication so far. Rather we can say only that the system is "undergoing transformation" and is in a "state of rearrangement." (Depending on whether one is a pessimist or optimist, he might refer to this stage of development as "disarray" or "transformability.") One reason why this is so might be (in the absence of scientific analyses, only in the subjunctive mood!) that the aforementioned economic, political and technical motive forces have not been formulated as a definite, unambiguous and relatively contradiction-free set of requirements for mass communication. The political and economic spheres do not see clearly what they can expect of mass communication under the new conditions. And mass communication--partially for this very reason--has not been able so far to elaborate a larger-scale development concept, or even to outline a less sharp "vision of its future."

Of course, the internal conflicts of the reform processes also have contributed toward blunting somewhat their effect on the system of mass communication, which responds more sluggishly to reforms to begin with. And the slowdown of our economic development has hampered not only the spreading of new communication media, but also efforts to narrow the gap between the quality of our traditional communications infrastructure and the European average. And a restrictive economic philosophy fosters the view--a catastrophic one for our subject--that it is a "luxury" to think of developing a society's information housekeeping when times are hard. (Hopefully, the unfolding of the Government Program for Electronics will curb this outdated but very harmful view!) And last but not least, the development of the international situation also influences in a contradictory manner the domestic mass communication system's transformation. On the one hand, it raises new challenges for this system (primarily through the already mentioned process of "globalization"). And on the other hand, its tensions and intensification increase the risks associated with the mass communication system's transformation, or at least provide ammunition for the opposition to this transformation.

As a result of all this, our mass communication system's transformation--its characteristics are a more open and less overcentralized system, and the appearance of new technologies such as cable TV, videocassette recording, teletext, etc.--appears as a series of specific transformation operations that indicate internal stresses. Complete spontaneity and overregulation, fast response and inability to respond, the world level and the developing countries' level blissfully exist side by side in this series, and occasionally one even presupposes the other. From this state of plastic transformation it is rather difficult to draw conclusions that will be valid for the future.

A forecast is rendered even more difficult by the fact that mass communication in a strict sense will itself be destroyed in this transformation process. The supply of information tailored to the demands of individuals and small groups; the spreading of two-way communication rounding out the present one-sided relationship between the journalist and his readers, respectively the program host and his audience; a wider choice of media, and thus the destruction of the breeding ground for mass communication "monocultures"--all this will bring about the end of the traditional mass communication system itself. It will be replaced by a more ample, social communication system, based on electronic

technology. Then how can one possibly forecast the role of mass communication under these conditions?

This, of course, is a worldwide problem. But in our case the difficulties are decked with Hungarian colors: our communication infrastructure has a few critical cross sections (the telephone network, and the availability of color TV) where we already are close to negative threshold values that could trigger irreversible processes affecting the development of the entire (mass) communication system, with unforeseeable consequences that would make any kind of forecast impossible.

In the absence of forecasts, the only thing we can do (setting aside the probabilities) is to compare the field of possibilities with the range of desirable actions. In other words, let us not prognosticate but define our utopias instead, in both meanings of the word.

### Publicity

The statement that the days of mass communication in its classical sense are numbered raises an important question: What will happen to mass communication's function as an "instrument of power"? For there is more or less general agreement that in any society mass communication (primarily national or "major mass communication") performs the role, among other things, of an instrument of power as well. It participates directly in legitimizing power, organizes public consensus on the most important sociopolitical decisions, and supports and reinforces the basic values of the prevailing ideology. But which social subsystem will take over this function when mass communication as such will have ceased to exist?

To anyone who perceives mass communication's instrument-of-power function as some sort of "intellectual truncheon" (for occasionally we do encounter even such views), the new developments will unquestionably be unfavorable. (But let us add that in Hungary, for more than a quarter century, mass communication has not been fulfilling in this grossly simplistic manner its instrument-of-power function!) In a multiple-choice, individualized and interactive communication system--hence in one that also makes back talk possible--the citizen is able to duck the truncheon more easily than ever. So why threaten him with it?

In a more nuanced and broader sense, however, the new type of communication system will (or might) remain an instrument of power, especially through some of its elements (national programs, automatic hookup of information systems in emergency situations, etc.). But this broader interpretation presupposes our taking cognizance of the fact that power is a strategic concept, and therefore it is advisable to use also the "instrument of power" primarily for strategic rather than tactical objectives. What proved to be illusory effort in most cases already under traditional mass communication will obviously be a fiasco under the new type of communication system: it probably will be unsuitable to form a public consensus regarding the tactical measures of policy (and especially of "hyphenated" policies). But there is no need to strive to do so, because the strategic tasks that the system will remain able to perform as before are far more important: political socialization, legitimization, the fostering of society's basic values, and--as the framework for all this--the

nurturing and development of civic culture. (Incidentally, the much closer interdependence of society's communication and educational subsystems in the case of such tasks as political socialization, for example, will necessarily lead to the development of new forms of cooperation between them.)

The new type of communication system will be able to function as an instrument of power--and more effectively than the old system--also when exercising public authority in a narrower sense. This may occur when the country is threatened by an external enemy, and in the case of a natural disaster or some other major emergency: the decentralized and small local communication systems (or at least one segment of each system) can link up quickly into a unified national network that is able to transmit the center's information and instructions everywhere. (Technically it is also feasible that every switched on information terminal at home or at work will tune in automatically to the emergency broadcasting channel.)

A more nuanced interpretation of the interrelations mentioned above could already be encountered occasionally in recent years, in the debates and writings on publicity policy. (This again is an indication of our mass communication system's contradictory yet profound transformation.) These debates emphasized, among other things, that the "instrument" part of the expression had (or could have) a broader meaning than what vulgarized thinking (the "intellectual truncheon" metaphore) supposed. First, it meant an information channel between society's decision-making centers and the citizens, a two-way channel (in the optimal case). Secondly, it meant an opportunity to transmit the political will; again at best, the transmission of the citizens' active participation could make this two-way transmission. But it could also mean a forum for society, a very important constituent of society's publicity, characterized by horizontal flows of information rather than vertical ones as above, where the different views shaping public opinion could be confronted, and where the conflicts of interest associated with the mainstream of society's movements could find their first, crude and volatile, form of expression. All this could enhance to a large extent the interest-reconciling and conflict-handling activity of politics; in other words, the new type of communication system could serve also as an instrument of power.

Already the past few years have sharply focused on these problems in the relationship between mass communication and publicity, and the mass communication system's continuing transformation can be expected to raise additional questions. We probably will have to face the contradictions of the traditional system of "multilevel publicity" that works more or less in practice. This stratified structural model of publicity developed at a time when mass communication was far more centralized than at present, our society was more closed to information from abroad, and our political culture was less developed than now. It played an unquestionably useful role in a given historical period, for it gave publicity policy room for maneuvering in the better sense of the word, and--with its elitist nature and all--it supplied the various levels of society with just about as much information as they needed for their everyday lives, work and decisions. However, the basic parameters of society's information housekeeping have changed significantly since then, and these changes have begun to erode the traditional model. Probably the evolving new model

will likewise be a stratified one in a certain sense, but the technical facts of the mass communication system's transformation will make this stratification less hierarchic (it will be more territorial, corporate, etc.). On the other hand, this stratification will hopefully transform the demand side of the information market rather than its supply side. The signs of this transformation, taking place in the aforementioned social changes' field of force, likewise are evident already now. And it is also obvious that a transformation of this kind will gradually dissolve the still perceptible paternalistic nature of our information housekeeping.

Concerning publicity, the situation when the citizen functions as a source of information, rather than as an information consumer, raises entirely different problems that again are novel: he "releases" perhaps the most private information about himself to files, questionnaires, magnetic tapes and disks, never knowing when this information might be made public in an unauthorized manner. (For publicity is not always authorized!) Although mass communication is already familiar with the dilemmas arising from this basic situation, and is responding to them in terms of press laws and rules of professional conduct, it is nevertheless a new task also for mass communication to make citizens aware of their rights to privacy, and to disclose the possible "short circuits" in the information link between the public and private spheres. In other words, to make public what ails publicity, which is not bad therapy after all!

### Structure

Although we have already encountered structural problems when discussing the questions of publicity, the projection of the social structure and the communication system's structure onto each other raises new questions, occasionally in the form of conundrums. For what else than a conundrum, or at best a political and logical dilemma, can we call the question of finding a workable solution for what can be termed the "structural deprivation" of our information housekeeping?

"The poor are the poorest" is true also from the viewpoint of information. The social strata and groups who are the most impoverished, whose social relations are narrowed by want and the difficult conditions of everyday life, are specifically the ones with the poorest communication links. This is typical even of their mass communication consumption structure, for they are the ones most likely to be glued "monoculturally" to the radio or TV set available to them; the rate of functional illiteracy among them is high; and they are unlikely to read publications even when they happen to have the money to buy them. These traditionally existing differences between the communication "center" and its "peripheries" further widen in the course of the mass communication system's transformation. The new items of communication equipment that are being added to the system are very expensive, and this makes them unavailable to a substantial proportion of the population, at least initially. During a transitional period, this is so in every other country as well. And then, thanks to a sharp decline of the price level as a result of the advances in electronics, also these new types of equipment become articles of mass consumption. But not so in Hungary. Here the "protective tariffs" levied on foreign-made electronic equipment--perhaps justifiable in a narrow economic

sense, but absurd from the viewpoint of society--and the resulting ability to maintain extremely high the price level of consumer electronics have lengthened this "transitional period" into an epoch. (Consider, for example, how few households have color TV sets, and the availability of such sets!)

Even if this economic Gordian knot were cut with a single stroke of a sword (and it is to be hoped that the modernization of our economy will sooner or later cut it, although perhaps not with a single stroke), the sociological dilemma would still remain. At first only a very small income elite is able to afford videocassette recorders, teletex adapters (together with the modern color TV sets these require), FM antennas and home computers. It is clearly in the country's best long-term interest to add such new equipment to the communication system, and to subsidize their introduction with society's resources. But in the meantime the country is maintaining a state of structural deprivation.

One solution here seems to be to urge the public use of the new types of communication equipment. There are new kinds of equipment for which this mode of application is not "functionally foreign." In Hungary, for example, it is very likely that primarily institutions and collectives will be interested in access to information systems of the Viewdata type, or in using rapid telex. It would be useless, for example, to urge the public use of videocassette recorders when individuals and families would want to use them primarily to record TV programs that they then can play back at their convenience--at least this is what the experience abroad indicates!--or to watch programs of their taste recorded on cassettes that they rent, buy or receive as gifts. Public use would rule out specifically these opportunities.

Thus we must take cognizance of the fact that we will have to live with this dilemma permanently. It will unquestionably cause stresses also in the further stages of our mass communication system's transformation, but policy (information policy and education policy) will be able to resolve these stresses only if we face, consistently and impartially, the fact of structural deprivation and its effects on our society's information housekeeping.

As already evident from what we have discussed so far, one of the most essential structural characteristics of our mass communication system's transformation, and of the further prospects of this process, is the gradual but definite decentralization of a system that previously was strongly centralized. In the 1970's, the first manifestation of this decentralization was the rapid development of the provincial press, together with a radical change in the mutual proportions of the national and the provincial (megye, municipal) press. The first phase in the development of provincial radio and TV studios advanced this process further. This was followed by a partial change in the functions of the cable systems, which had been in operation for some time: i.e., their transformation into local mass communication systems. The process of decentralization is continuing, and the incorporation of some new medium or other into the system might even speed it up.

It is essential that the local communication systems formed and consolidated in this manner do not become small-scale and low-key imitations of major, national

mass communication (for initially they will be tempted to do so). But this should remain an internal matter of (mass) communication. More important from the viewpoint of our topic is the fact that a decentralized communication system, which assumes such a structure, can no longer operate as a hierarchic system. Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television have their local representatives and subdivisions (provincial reporters and studios) built into the hierarchic structure, and the national newspapers likewise have their local correspondents, but the megye and municipal papers--not to mention the cable systems--do not have such "superiors" within the mass communication system. The logic of this complicated system's operation practically precludes centralized, hierarchic, administrative regulation. But it does demand constitutional and legal regulation regarding the common basic principles, values and standards; and for the system's day-to-day operations, the application of the principles for regulating cooperating systems. In comparison with the present system, then, the operation of a new communication system, one with a more complicated structure, could reduce the role of central, official regulation. However, it could increase the role of political and ideological regulation on the one hand, and of legal regulation on the other, including also elements of civil law (contracts, for example).

If to the preceding we add that at home the monopoly of Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television is declining and changing into hegemony (the erosion of their monopoly actually began with the 1974 decisions to separate the two), then it is obvious that we are dealing with a (mass) communication system whose structure is entirely different already now, and will become increasingly different in the future, from what we had a decade ago. But the factors that influence the system's development, as we have pointed out in the introduction, are difficult to forecast due to the many unforeseeable elements in them. Therefore it is obvious that our society's basic economic interest demands two things: On the one hand, we must increase the system's adaptability and flexibility. (So far, the signs of transformation are pointing in this direction!) And on the other hand, we must bring ingenuity, inventiveness and creative thinking into full swing at the various levels of decision-making within the system, from the editorial offices up to the formulation of publicity policy. The degree of our success could determine to a large extent the state of our entire information culture and also its future development.

## Content

As far as the content of (mass) communication is concerned, at this point we can already identify--in spite of the forecasting difficulties--several questions on which the (mass) communication system can contribute to the unfolding of our information culture.

First of all--as we have pointed out in our discussion of the problems of publicity--by keeping on the agenda the demonstration of the "information explosion's" social effects, their evaluation from different points of view, and also the debates on them. The (mass) communication system must also be prepared to handle new types of social tensions. Although this is primarily the task of politics, (mass) communication too can help effectively. As the practical application of information science spreads, for example, we can



expect serious (and mostly ideologically formulated) opposition from two directions. First, from certain groups of intellectuals who will feel that basic human values and freedoms are being threatened and will express their concern in ideological form. And secondly, from certain blue-collar and white-collar strata who will fear for the loss of specific jobs (even though the government's economic policy has made it clear long ago that the right to work is not necessarily tied to a specific workplace). There might arise a domestic political constellation such that this warranted and understandable concern will again be coated with a misleading ideological layer, one that "fears" for the future of the working class, from the spreading application of information science in society's reproduction process.

Although it is desirable to clarify these questions primarily before scientific and ideological forums, (mass) communication can assume a role in "precipitating" the views, and also in helping to speed up through its own means the innovation processes. In a certain sense, this is again an unusual task for mass communication, because traditionally its tasks have called for exerting a stabilizing influence within society, and thus it has been advocating the virtues of continuity and maintenance, rather than of progress and innovation. In the future, however, the high degree of the system's flexibility, and the differentiating division of labor among its elements, will make the system better able to reinforce both sides of development.

The accelerating practical application of information science to the social processes could evoke, if not resistance, at least hesitation and uncertainty in even wider strata than mentioned above. This hesitation and uncertainty could become even more pronounced due to the already noticeable disillusioned turning away from the rationalism of the sciences and, consequently, to the search for various "solutions" in mysticism. Here the task of (mass) communication is to demonstrate with convincing arguments that, under suitable social conditions, the spreading application of information science will lead not to the standardization of life or visions of phalanstery, but to variety, to the development of individual creative abilities, and to a better quality of life. Instead of fighting against information in the manner of modern iconoclasts or Luddites, therefore, we must transform our social mechanisms so that we can take full advantage of the information explosion, both individually and at the level of society. Socialist society's set of values will enhance all this. By permeating the mass communication system's transformation that is already in progress, socialist society's set of values will also enable the public itself to form more and more decisively its own scope of communication.

Perhaps we may also regard as symbolic the proven fact that, by breaking down everyday activities into routines, the writing of programs for home computers is helping family members to gain a better understanding of these activities, and also to contribute toward their rationalization. In other words, it is helping them to identify more closely with their everyday lives.

The novel and active use of the (mass) communication system can perhaps make us aware of the new algorithms of our society's life.

HUNGARY

# LACK OF TIMELY, ACCURATE INFORMATION BEMOANED

Budapest LUDAS MATYI in Hungarian 6 Feb 85 p 2

[Commentary by Barna Radvanyi: "Damned Geology!"]

[Text] On 17 January on television, in News Background, two responsible men--one of them in the rank of Deputy Minister--made statements about our energy situation. With the coal supply, they said, there are no special problems; intermittent lack of coal may perhaps occur in some Tiszanalja communities.

On 23 January the daily newspaper NEPSZABADSAG reported that in the beginning of the preceding week the crowd waiting for coal broke in the locked gate of Debrecen's largest TUZEP [Fuel and Building Materials Trade Enterprise] plant.

On 24 January it reported that the lack of coal was nationwide. At Fot, for example, in some places dust mixed with coal is heaping up at the fuel plant, whereas at Dunakeszi there is not even coal turning into dust, in vain do at dawn 200-300 people tremble with cold in front of the gates.

These were already existing facts also on 17 January. Why did the Deputy Minister not speak about them? Is it because he is a kind person and does not like to give bad news? That is bad. Or was he not properly informed, either? Bad.

He could have asked, for example, the Debrecen TUZEP people, who have suspected since April and known since November that the coal supply would run into problems. True, the voice of the people of Debrecen could not be heard as far as Pest; in fact, not even as far as Debrecen. The local newspaper, the HAJDU-BIHARI NAPLO, gave on 16 January a panorama of the winter of our discontent, it wrote about the trains being late, about the difficulties in milk delivery and electric current supply, about the problems of district heating. Not a word about coal, TUZEP or broken-in gate. Inside on the third page there is an inside lead article with the title "On Being Informed." A sentence worthy of being quoted, also from the HAJDU-BIHARI NAPLO, also from an inside lead article, from 14 January: "Neither do the families weigh fuel any more by the ounce, as they did at the time when twenty quintals of coal for a winter were considered a permissible luxury for few rural families."

By now, thank God, every rural family is able to buy twenty quintals of coal for itself. If it can find it.

NEPSZABADSAG is examining the question why only insufficient amounts of coal reach the surface. According to its findings, problems of manpower, geological conditions, lagging investments are all playing a role in this.

But why does only insufficient amount of information reach the surface? Why is being informed a luxury? Why do news have to be weighed by the ounce? Why must we make do with orientation scraps, with information mixed with dust? After all, with us, in the information industry, there are no manpower problems (unless the fact that there are too many of us poses a problem), neither do I know of lagging investments.

The trouble, then, can only lie in the conditions. The geological ones, of course.

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YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIAN LEGAL OFFICIAL DEPLORES USELESSNESS OF 'AGREEMENTS'

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 84 pp 21-22

[Interview with Inge Kraljevic, president of the Council for Legal Questions of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, by Jelena Lovric: "The Obscure Language of Agreements"]

[Text] Different opinions in politics and different ideologies in different segments of society will be powerfully reflected in the legal system as well.

Agreements between republics and provinces regarding joint interests in the federation, provided for by the 1974 Constitution, have become much more frequent--during this ten-year period at least a hundred of them have been made. But these agreements are, so to speak, anonymous in our legal system; they have not gotten any special attention in legal theory either, and they are socially and legally unclear regarding many fundamental questions. A multitude of legal, as well as other problems, have come up involving them. So says Inge Kraljevic, president of the Council for Legal Questions of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which recently submitted an introductory report on this topic at a meeting of the Federal Legal Council.

Expression of Needs

"The Constitution merely says that joint interests, among other things, can be acted on by agreements made by republics, autonomous provinces, and other social-political communities, and says nothing more, so that we can say that there is almost a total void in the Constitution regarding this matter. But in practice things have taken a different tact--the agreement has been "legalized" as a formal and institutional act. However, since solid principles and foundations exist neither within a normative system nor in legal theory, practical application varies quite a bit so that a formulated physiognomy of agreements still does not exist. The content of agreements varies along a broad spectrum, between those which are quite encumbered by general phraseology and which resemble resolutions, and those which establish definite relationships in a quite specific manner, and which identify to a great extent with the

regulations of social-political communities. This great disparity in the content of agreements is perhaps the main reason why agreements have still not become what they really should be with regard to the legal system."

[Question] Why has there been such a propensity towards agreements in practical life?

[Answer] Agreements are an expression of the need to unify some legal relationships in our federative community which are of a new type--large responsibilities have been moved to the republics while the authority of the federation has shrunk. We are not a confederation in which everyone can do as he likes, and that is why we must bring some unity to questions and relationships which are of vital interest to citizens, to their security and equality. Insignificant matters are not involved here--most frequently agreements are involved with taxes, economic activity, public health. It is precisely the type of federalism which we have, with the pronounced need to standardize legislative practice between republics and provinces and between opstinas within the republics, which gives rise to so many agreements. However, it happens--quite often, unfortunately--that when there is lack of consent between republics and provinces concerning a certain law they go to an agreement. To the extent it is naive to think that those who have not been able to reach accord with regard to a certain law will be able to find a compromise easier in an agreement, it is also unconstitutional. Jurisdiction given to federal organs by the Constitution cannot be transferred to agreements. Neither is the opposite acceptable--when there is a threat, if an agreement is not concluded within a certain time, that the executive council will step in with its own regulation. It cannot be this way. This is not the meaning of agreements. What should be regulated by federal law, let it be so established, what should be regulated by the Federal Executive Council, let it be so regulated, and if something is within the original jurisdiction of the republics and provinces it should be decided on by agreement.

[Question] You said that there are also some dilemmas in legal theory with regard to agreements?

[Answer] If the agreement was the only formal act in our system for which legal theory could not determine the legality, perhaps it could be tolerated. But at the federation level alone--let us not go any farther now--we have a multitude of formal acts which establish extraordinarily important relationships. These include, for example, the social plan of Yugoslavia, agreements about the principles of the social plan, self-management agreements about components of the social plan, agreements about carrying out the social plan, an agreement about implementation of federal laws, and numerous social agreements and self-management settlements which are being concluded at the level of

the federation, all based on complete unanimity of all republics and autonomous provinces, or each constitutional entity which concludes them, and neither legal theory nor practical application knows what any of them really mean with regard to our legal system.

Confusion arises when the agreement process takes place, and when the agreement has been concluded; confusion also arises when the agreement is executed, and perhaps the greatest confusion arises when the norm of the agreement must be defended. At present there is no legal protection for them, and this causes unnecessary confusion within the legal system. There are no consequences for agreements which are often supposed to last months, sometimes even years--accords last for a very long time--and too often it turns out that agreements are not carried out in the end and remain lifeless words on paper. There is even the opinion that those who freely and voluntarily sign an agreement can also freely execute the agreement or not, that this is their autonomous right. I am dead set against this, because the entire procedure of making an agreement becomes meaningless if some quite definite results and consequences are not produced. The intense process of exhausting energy, people, and time is too great a price to pay for this society, too great a luxury to be able to say in the end that indeed we have not carried out an agreement. This can't be allowed to take place within a legal system.

#### Resorting to Phrases

Moreover, this is a very significant question for our political system today. For example, for two planning periods now we have not had implementation of the social plan, there have not been any consequences for those who proposed the plan, for those who discussed it, who made compromises concerning it, and who passed it. Also, numerous self-management agreements are being concluded even though the Constitution and the communities of associated labor say quite clearly that in the great majority of cases legal acts with specific consequences for those who do not carry them out actually are not legal acts in practice. Sometimes they are formulated so that they resemble resolutions to a greater extent, and there are no sanctions for those who do not carry them out.

[Question] Those which are not very specific are also difficult to carry out?

[Answer] Well, yes. When agreement cannot be reached on specific matters they resort to phrases, the general terminology of resolutions. I have compared an agreement made by republics and provinces concerning a uniform way of organizing hailstorm warnings on the territory of Yugoslavia and an agreement between our country and Italy which also concerns hailstorm warnings. The international agreement establishes precisely the assignments of the joint system, the competence of joint

organs, the responsibilities of people who function in the system, financing, assignments, and ways to resolve disputes. The agreement concerning our uniform hailstorm warning system explains what the purpose of the agreement is, what a hailstorm is, what qualifies as a natural disaster. The act is so general that one cannot tell how republics and autonomous provinces are supposed to function based upon the agreement. Although I do not mean to put an international treaty and an inter-republic agreement on the same level, I do warn of the bizarre fact that an agreement between two states has greater legal force than one of our domestic acts agreed upon by republics and provinces.

[Question] Are there causes for dissatisfaction in the Constitution?

[Answer] The Constitution is vague, and some things should be cleared up either by constitutional amendment or by systemic law. We have to determine precisely what an agreement is, what its physiognomy is, so to speak, what its consequences are and what the results are for those who make an agreement and do not carry it out. They do not have to be only legal instruments, they can also be social-political instruments, but we have to have them so that they can be used to defend the system. Agreements have to have their own social and legal character--their growing number can no longer remain outside the constitutional and legal system.

#### Statement of Cooperation

[Question] You said that we are not a confederation in which every republic and province can do what they want. However, in not carrying out agreements, one does what one wants to do anyway in practice. Does this indicate a crisis in our ability to cooperate, or is it only one more aspect of our well-known behavior of not sticking to our own decisions?

[Answer] What happens with agreements is nothing unusual. It conforms completely with our general lack of execution of the legal system, beginning with the laws. In a recent, very well-done report by the Federal Assembly, it was stated that there are 13 federal laws which regulate the unified Yugoslav market which are not being carried out--thus, this concerns something which is most vital since it is like one of our arteries. This lack of respect for agreements and lack of execution of the normatively adopted system and the legal act clearly indicates the state of our cooperation. Perhaps this is a consequence, but in any case it continues to be a terribly destructive force on cooperation. I would have to say that this is a vicious circle.

[Question] Do you stress that the legal profession has a great responsibility?

[Answer] If defects exist in the legal system, and they do exist, then lawyers who are not cadres have a great responsibility to take decisive positions about what is what in the legal system. This is not only a formal question, nor a formalistic one as some claim, but it is the essence of every legal system. The legal system should guarantee certain relationships and the implementation of all legal acts, even those specific to our system which do not exist in other legal systems, such as, for example, the agreement about the joint interests of republics and provinces.

[Question] Solutions probably do not depend only on lawyers?

[Answer] Every legal institution is an expression of certain legal relationships, this cannot be doubted. If different conceptions exist in politics, if different ideologies exist in society, then this is also very powerfully reflected in the legal system. Law is not isolated from society; on the contrary, it is a concentrated expression of all these relationships, and if different interests and some disagreements exist in society, then of course this will also affect legal theory, it will have to be expressed in it. And it is apparent that if we cannot come to an agreement about some things ideologically, if we cannot bring our interests together even politically, then such a dispersion of interests, so to speak, will probably correspond to acts which are obscure, or vague, thus having no meaning for us in a legal sense. Perhaps this is putting it too strongly, but I must insist that legal theory and practice respond to those legal questions which naturally have strong political overtones for the sake of the security and stability of the legal system. Lawyers cannot free themselves from all responsibility. Let everyone do their share--legal theory and practice for its share of the problem, again, politics for its share of the responsibility, but let our joint goal be the functioning of both the legal system and the political system.

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YUGOSLAVIA

NAJDAN PASIC DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jan 85 pp 16-17

[Interview with Dr Najdan Pasic, director of the study group on the delegate system of decision-making and the constitutional concept of social-political communities, by Dragan Kabadajic]

[Text] In order for the political system to continue to develop it is extremely important for associated labor to be independent of the centers of political decision-making.

Recently we presented fundamental concepts of labor in a critical analysis of the functioning of the socialist self-management political system which were arrived at by three study groups of the Federal Social Council for Questions Relating to the Social Order (it has a total of five groups). It is known that this organization is most directly responsible for this matter. This time we talked with Dr Najdan Pasic, director of the study group involved with "the delegate system of decision-making and the constitutional concept of social-political communities."

"This study group is involved with a very complex set of questions--on the one hand, it is concerned with the functioning of the delegate system in general in social-political communities (the political side of the decision-making process), and on the other hand, with relationships between social-political communities, or, their organs (assemblies, and especially executive and administrative organs). This is because many distortions have entered into this relationship which have perverted the nature of our federation, and which have begun to give it the stamp of confederative relationships.

"The vigorous blow at the centralism of the federal government has not in itself, consequently, led to an immediate acceleration of the process of integrating our society through self-management principles, which was the basic intention of the Constitution. On the contrary, the strengthening of territorial closure, the division of social property, and the break-up of whole reproduction systems within the Yugoslav economic area have come about, among other things.

"Going on from here, the study group reached a fairly broad level of agreement for the most part with regard to describing the situation; and neuralgic points in the broader diapason of the organization of the political system were identified. Some differences exist on the matter of establishing causes for these phenomena. At times the emphasis is placed on weakness in the operation of the subjective forces (on the fact that there has not been enough persistence in abiding by and following through on constitutional concepts), and at other times stress is placed on the inadequacy of specific normative decisions.

"Understandably, most of the disagreement centered around what proposals to make, but I think that we have now brought our viewpoints closer together: this is also demonstrated by the fact that each part of our analysis is ultimately being concluded by one section, which lets us know what is worth continuing and what directions we should take to pursue solutions. Sometimes these considerations are generalized to some extent, and sometimes they are quite specific. We still have to do more to make these proposals more specific, at least as proposals for consideration. Perhaps it will be necessary in some cases to come out either with non-finalized considerations, or with a proposal with alternative possible solutions. We won't knock ourselves out, sweating over every last detail, in order to bring the different positions into complete agreement. The worse thing would be for the study group to propose many possible solutions for individual questions. Thus, our study group should be prepared to offer these materials to the Federal Social Council sometime by the middle of January."

#### The Parts and the Whole

[Question] Our aim is to hear the basic understandings arrived at by the study group?

[Answer] One conclusion which the study group has reached is that up to now we in society have been too occupied with individual segments of our political system, and much less concerned with the functioning of the system as a whole--as one unified mechanism. Even though the parts taken separately may be well-established in themselves, if they have not been included in the system as a whole in an adequate manner they cannot give the proper results. The relationship between the whole and its parts is often forgotten during the dialectical process. To be concerned with the healthy functioning of the entire system is not a form of unitarism but it is in the interest of all the integrated parts. In practice, all of the subjects have often been too pre-occupied with their own interests, and have not perceived these interests in the context of the development of the system as a whole.

[Question] The Constitution says that republics and provinces are responsible for their own development, as well as for the development of the federation as a whole. What happens in reality?

[Answer] We have indeed concerned ourselves quite a bit with this very problem. We have been able to ascertain that with regard to implementation of the Constitution on certain points, there has not been agreement between fundamental

determinations (directives which are given by the Constitution for the development of the system as a whole) and specific decisions in the legislature which should provide for the implementation of these principles in practice. Some of these determinations have not been properly specified, even in the Constitution itself. Let's assume one such fundamental principle is that decisions are to be made in the federation on the basis of collaboration and agreement between republics and provinces. In the normative part of the Constitution, this has not been worked out in detail.

Because agreement between republics and provinces (which is mentioned in several articles of the Constitution and which should be the basis for legislative action as well as for unification of the legal system), has generally not been defined in detail, one cannot tell what will happen if it is not achieved and what to do if republics and provinces orient themselves exclusively towards obstinate support of their own interests. As long as this problem exists it will be difficult for us to implement the constitutional concept of 1974. Because in order to implement this concept, an essential precondition is the implementation of another constitutional concept concerning the dominant position of associated labor with respect to the disposition of the means of extended reproduction, and another one is the establishment of an effective mechanism for the agreement process between republics and provinces concerning joint interests. To achieve these ends, we have to open up more dynamic processes of self-management integration which should connect the interests of the working class throughout all of Yugoslavia. Also necessary is the conscious activity of republics and provinces in forming joint institutions, as well as the more vigorous activity of social-political organizations in the delegate system.

#### Capacity

[Question] If this is so, how much of the capacity of the delegate system is really for the expression, confrontation, and coordination (reconciliation) of the authentic interests of the working class (the self-management basis of society)?

[Answer] Among the essential concepts we arrived at (in analyzing all institutions in the system, looking at the functioning of the delegate system from the opstina to the federal level, looking at the relationship between social-political communities and the decision-making process) is one which is the key to exposing relationships which are really being established between associated labor and the centers of political decision-making.

In its essence, this relationship is directly distorting, corrupting. Instead of associated labor pursuing its interests in managing the means of social reproduction as well as possible--and this means that these resources are associated economically in a rational manner, directed where they can be the most effective, etc.--we have come to the point where associated labor is put

under the direct guardianship of the political centers. Above all, this is the guardianship of executive and administrative organs in republics and provinces, and this distorted relationship then in a way threatens and endangers both the class and the political nature of the system. Because, as Edvard Kardelj says, "Working people cannot have political power in society if they do not have economic control over social capital, over their own surplus of labor."

However, what can be stated is that extensive use of the right of social-political communities to organize the conditions for economic management--especially that of republics and autonomous provinces--has taken a detour, and what is increasingly apparent is that this detour leads towards the restoration of certain state-property relationships; and it can also be stated that a large number of organs relates in a personal way towards the resources of expanded reproduction and towards associated labor in their own territory.

Precisely what Edvard Kardelj stressed as a potentially great danger has taken place, and this is a collision between the centralized "capital" formations of republics and provinces on the unified Yugoslav market. Because, as Kardelj emphasized, this inevitably interrupts the paths to self-management integration across republic and provincial borders.

[Question] Does this in fact mean that the circuit has been closed in banks?

[Answer] Yes, in the banks, which have indirectly begun once again to be transformed into the extended arms of government administration. This is only because the banking system is now directly under the control of republics and provinces, and no longer the federal government, except for its meddlings through the National Bank of Yugoslavia. And in spite of all the shouting about territorial closure, a step ahead has been taken recently in the closing of the inter-banking system and with the creation of associated business banks for each republic and province. An enormous share of total monetary circulation, that is, all monetary and credit transactions, is moving within the confined systems of these republics.

We have attempted to perceive how the political institutions affect all of this, to see how much they contribute to disintegrative trends and to decide what should be done to eliminate these negative forces emanating from the political system itself.

#### Exceeding Constitutional Limits

For example, analysis has indicated that delegate relationships are hard to establish above all because of the fact that working people in basic organizations of associated labor are made to be completely dependent on the centers of political decision-making. Studies have confirmed that 55 to 75 percent of the delegation generally does not take up positions which would in any way obligate the delegates who represent them in the assemblies. This means a complete "break in connections." It would not be this way if associated labor would exert pressure from above, would make demands of the delegations, and the delegations of the delegates, to fight for certain resolutions. Certainly the dependent position in which they find themselves is a great handicap for the delegate system and for associated labor.

We have made a number of conclusions indicating that the governmental component in the functioning of organs of the social-political communities has established and manifested itself to a greater extent than self-management, and the reason for this is rooted in the position of associated labor. That is why we are asked the specific question: what can be done to reduce the very high level of dependence of associated labor on the centers of political decision-making; what can be done to make its position more stable and independent? It has been shown that there are a large number of excesses of constitutional limits, so solutions must be found which limit the intervention of government organs in the process of extended reproduction, which prevent the increasing number of various direct and indirect forms of seizing revenue in ways which are not in accordance with self-management. It is understandable, from this viewpoint, that we next have to critically evaluate the use of not only legal, but some constitutional regulations as well.

This means not only establishing why and in what way the relationship between associated labor and the centers of political decision-making has become distorted, but also determining what motivates group-property behavior and territorial closure of the means of expanded reproduction. We cannot say that opstina organs make decisions in a way which is against self-management both fundamentally and in principle. There are some circumstances which force them into such behavior, so that this is not only a bureaucratic distortion, but also a "natural" reaction to certain given situations.

#### Assembly Hangers-on

By looking at what has gone into these analyses, by making the problem more concrete, we will see what turns up when we study the opstinas, provinces, and republics, when we study the federation itself. Where are all the roots, and what has brought about the restoration of state-ownership relationships in a new form?

[Question] What is the critical factor here; what, in your opinion, induces people to behave in an etatist manner?

[Answer] Above all it is probably the incompleteness of the system, as well as the fact that we have formulated certain institutions on the basis of assumed relationships, and not real ones.

[Question] Delegations represent one of the most important links in the constitutional plan. However, might it be said that their influence has been neglected (except in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly)? Is this not one of the fundamental reasons for the connection between the delegates in assemblies of the social-political communities and the centers of political power, as well as for many distortions which appear as a part of a chain reaction? Haven't you mentioned this very thing?

[Answer] Yes, I think that the "bug" lies in the fact that they are not adequately connected with the base and because they often do not even follow very closely what is going on in organizations of associated labor and in other

self-management organizations, and in the communities which selected them. Moreover, the fact is that there is not enough impetus coming from the base itself. That is why there has been some consideration about having the delegation tied more directly to its electoral base. One might establish questions about which the delegation would have to be informed and about which it would have to express the position of working people through the delegates in the delegate assemblies. This is one possible measure. In addition, an idea has been given consideration--it has been presented and proposed somewhere, although it has also been subject to criticism--that perhaps in a certain situation the workers' council might assume the role of the delegation. It is known that workers' councils are much more active as organs anyway, and that working people deal with them much more than with delegations.

We have to go beyond the state in which delegations are only hangers-on attached to the assembly structure--they only react to what comes down to them from above, they do not react to the interests of the base. Thus they are in an almost hopeless situation, because enormous amounts of material are thrown at them from above, but needs do not come from above. Thus delegations cannot see what is really of interest from the viewpoint of the organizations and communities they represent, and to what to give the appropriate amount of attention.

#### Restoration of the Old

[Question] Could we say that the delegate who represents a delegation in the assembly of social-political communities is more an ambassador than a representative?

[Answer] I think that this is true in a great number of cases. People also begin to feel this way. People complain that in practice it is very difficult to consult with a few dozen, or even a hundred, delegations, whom they have to represent in the assemblies. The institution of the delegation conference has been neglected here, but it really requires a lot of time and a lot of sincere motivation on the part of the people. I look at it like this--if they are not sure that this effort of theirs is of some specific benefit, if they have the impression that it is only the fulfillment of an empty democratic ritual, then it is natural that a person's motivation for this much involvement changes.

[Question] Is this part of the reason for the connection between the delegates and the administrative-executive organs?

[Answer] Yes, it is. In addition to this, everything that has to be decided on in the assemblies arrives in the form of proposals which have been prepared by the executive organs. So it is natural that the delegates are tied to these organs and that they communicate with them, and that the other, purely delegate, lines of attachment and connection are neglected. Thus, the tendency for the delegate to be transformed into a general political representative actually does take place.

[Question] In this way do we also get a restoration of the old system?

[Answer] Yes, in a concealed form, and at times this can be worse than the classic forms, when we knew what was what.

[Question] In this situation, how can we guarantee that the system allows the chambers of associated labor to have a decisive influence in the assemblies of social-political communities? And one more thing--is the introduction of a chamber of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly also under consideration?

[Answer] Both questions are under consideration. Also under consideration is how to make the chambers of associated labor more active and responsible, because relatively speaking, they are the most passive chambers--at least according to what we know and to what some studies have indicated. These studies also demonstrate pragmatically the work of the provincial and republic assemblies, as well as that of the opstina assemblies. Discussions are often much livelier, much fuller in content in the opstina chambers and in the social-political chambers than they are in the chambers of associated labor, even when laws and measures are being discussed which relate directly to associated labor. There are many reasons for this.

#### Overemphasis on the Territorial Principle

One of the reasons for this is the way in which these chambers are made up--that is, they are for the most part ultimately constituted on the territorial principle. A way has not been found to provide a sufficiently functional means of connection for associated labor, especially in the republics and provinces. Of course, if the territorial principle and territorialized interests prevail (and they are similarly demonstrated both in associated labor chambers and in opstina chambers), then chambers of associated labor lose the ability to express the authentic interests of the workers which are connected with self-management integration on a functional-production basis.

This means that something should be changed within the structure of these chambers so that they express the functional connection or the integration of associated labor to a greater extent. This is truly difficult to express.

[Question] And what will happen with the chambers of the SFRY Assembly? Will the study group come out with a proposal?

[Answer] Yes, it certainly will. Some specific proposals about these chambers have been heard. In any case, the composition and manner of selection of the Federal Chamber will probably be changed so that the chamber better corresponds to its function. But let's not get into that now.

[Question] Many analysts say that the Federal Chamber is becoming increasingly like the Chamber of Republics and Provinces?

[Answer] Yes, it is being criticized, I would say, with respect to the way decisions are made. It is known that delegates from some republics and provinces who belong to this chamber have their own "coordinators." These are people who have specific directives because they maintain ties with the republic executive councils and with the republic assemblies. Naturally, they come with specific opinions about all the most important questions which are being decided upon in the chamber. Regardless of the desire of the delegates to express the interests of associated labor or the corresponding social-political organizations as directly and as authentically as possible, in the absence of direct consultations "with the base" they turn to the "coordinators" and accept the appropriate directives. Of course, I do not think that the delegates of this chamber are tied to the inflexible instructions of the corresponding organs of the republics and provinces, but in practice it turns out that they vote in the Federal Chamber with the delegations on all important questions. A position taken up by the delegations in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces will coincide with the position taken up by the delegates of the same republics in the Federal Chamber. This is a fact to which we cannot close our eyes and over which we will have to put up a bit of a struggle.

[Question] Finally, does the study group have in mind any proposals for changing or amending the Constitution?

[Answer] We have still not put these proposals in a final form, but going by what has been discussed up to now it is evident that we will have a few proposals for amending and changing some articles in the Constitution.

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YUGOSLAVIA

MOSLEM POPULATION INCREASES IN SUMADIJA AREA OF SERBIA

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by M. Torov: "The Other Side of Migration"]

[Text] The increasingly pronounced migration from the undeveloped Sandzak opstinas is resulting in a sudden shift in the nationality structure of the population, which opens the door to increasingly aggressive activity on the part of the religious communities. Today, entire families from some areas of Serbia are abandoning their homes. During the last 10 years, 11,000 people have moved out from the Sandzak opstinas of Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Tutin, and Prijepolje alone, areas which encompass over 3,362 square kilometers. True, the number of residents here, according to data from the latest census, has increased significantly, but on the whole this is due to the large number of children born to Moslem families.

Because of this, the number of Serbian residents in these areas, whose population has a multinational structure, has suddenly declined in favor of Moslem inhabitants. Today, in the Novi Pazar opstina, the population is 67.3 percent Moslem and only 29.5 percent Serbian (a short time ago, the ratio was 57.7 percent Moslem compared to 39 percent Serb). In Sjenica today the ratio is 68.8 percent Moslem and 28.9 percent Serb (earlier this ratio was 53.4 percent to 37.6 percent). In the Tutin opstina, the total number of inhabitants includes 91.9 percent Moslems and only 7 percent Serbs. In the not-so-distant past this ratio was 83 percent to 12.3 percent.

National Income Among the Lowest

Obviously, this rather rapid change in the nationality structure of the population of the Sandzak region is both the result of migration and the traditionally greater birthrate in Moslem families. The reason most often cited in official documents for the migration of the population is the economic backwardness of this region. This is also confirmed by the fact that the national income here is among the lowest in the republic. In Prijepolje, income amounts to 66 percent of the average national income of Serbia, not including the provinces, in Novi Pazar to 58 percent, in Sjenica 41.7 percent, and in Tutin to only 24 percent of the average national income.

In addition, Tutin ranks sixth lowest in level of development of the opstinas in the republic, and as such is a member of the group of the most backward opstinas in Yugoslavia.

The poverty of this area is best illustrated by the fact that there is still no electricity in as many as 40 settlements, that the majority of villages still have no roads or any other connection with the outside world, not to mention the fact that today it is considered to have the lowest level of facilities considered necessary for a normal, modern existence, including hospitals, health centers, schools, and movies. Industry and handicrafts, where they exist, are weak for the most part, although the entire area lies on rich deposits of ore and possesses various valuable raw materials. The great resources of this region have still not been adequately exploited. Agricultural production, with properties divided up into small plots, does not even provide enough food for the region's own needs. The unemployment problem increasingly pressures the population of this area.

For all of the above reasons, the Serbian Executive Council, in an unusual action, has prepared a special "Program of Tasks and Measures for Accelerated Development and Decelerated Migrational Trends in the Novi Pazar, Tutin, Sjenica, and Prijepolje Opstinas," which has been adopted recently by the Republic of Serbia Assembly.

This unique resolution, along with a document entitled "The Operative Plan" accompanying it, and with specific obligations and deadlines, provides for accelerated development in the economy, especially in agriculture, the small business sector, and handicrafts. Smaller, but economically functional capacities are to be built which will base their production on the use of domestic raw materials such as minerals and non-metal minerals, wood, leather, and medicinal plants. Special attention will also be devoted to reforestation and land reclamation of enormous expanses of degraded forests and underbrush.

Large amounts of resources are also needed to carry out this ambitious program. The associated forces of the republic and the two regions to which these opstinas belong (Kraljevo and Titovo Uzice) will help out with the construction of roads, electrical energy projects, postal, telegraph, and telephone systems, electrification of settlements, geological explorations, reforestation, and the like.

It is extraordinary that the Republic Foundation for Achieving Accelerated Development of Undeveloped Regions will be allowed to approve funds in advance for the programs offered during the current planning period. The main support in the development of the Sandzak opstinas would have been the associated resources of the larger collectives. It would be enough to expect specialized assistance from them, without which one could not hope for rapid progress.

## Church Activities Continue to Grow Stronger

By itself, however, the program will not help in pulling this area out of backwardness and in keeping the populace from leaving the area if the opstinas themselves, and above all the social-political organizations, do not involve themselves to a greater extent in controlling some other phenomena which accompany and influence the migration of the population. One of the phenomenon about which authorities in these opstinas especially warn is the great, for some even decisive, influence of the religious communities on migrational movements.

Judging by the words of the president of the Opstina Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Sjenica, Jovica Lovic, there is a unique, very distinct polarization of the population in this opstina, a national grouping-together and uniting around the two leading religious communities here--the Islamic Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church. According to the president of the Opstina Conference of SAWPY of Novi Pazar, Sabro Djorovic, these churches have become increasingly active recently.

Their main preoccupation, besides extending their membership, is having a strong influence on the young--even the very young--above all through religious instruction. Even during religious holidays, the majority of the young hozdas--religious school students in Sarajevo and Pristina--are engaged in this goal, explains Jovica Lovic. The result of this "activity" is the ever-increasing inclusion of children in religious instruction. At this moment as many as 1,300 students, in addition to regular school, are included in religious instruction.

In other words, the church takes on society's roles where society has failed, above all, the educational role. Religious communities also place themselves in the position of the professed representatives and defenders of the people and the nation. They stop at nothing to achieve their ends. Recently in a committee of the Serbian Assembly a delegate stated that the Islamic community even threatens excommunication (expulsion) from the faith to those families which refuse to have more children.

And the result of this, according to Jovica Lovic, is "a homogenization of the population according to nationality membership." Judging by everything, those who leave these areas set off in two directions in the hope of insuring their national and territorial membership: Serbs to the narrower national area of the republic, and Moslems to Bosnia-Hercegovina, to Sarajevo for the most part, and only a smaller number come out of the inaccessible mountain areas to the somewhat more industrially developed Novi Pazar.

And this is only one of a number of phenomena which cannot be easily overcome. After considering what Lovic has said, it is apparent that there will be much for the Socialist Alliance, for the Conference for Social Activity of Women in the Opstinas, and especially for the schools, to do.

YUGOSLAVIA

VRANICKI BOOK ON SELF-MANAGEMENT DISCUSSED, DISPUTED

[Editorial Report] The 26 February 1985 issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS (pp 23-24) reports on a round-table discussion of Zagreb philosophy Professor Dr Predrag Vranicki's latest book "Self-Management as Permanent Revolution." According to the article, Vranicki (formerly on the editorial board of PRAXIS) in his book says that every state socialism must degenerate if it does not build into it antitheses to bureaucratic-etatistic deformation. Such antitheses are primarily the different forms of self-management in all spheres of social life, first of all economic life. Taking an optimistic view, Vranicki reportedly believes that history has shown that "socialist forces are increasingly oriented toward self-management as the essential process of liberation in the modern world, that the working class in Yugoslavia is achieving the dominant role in society, and that the cause of "our deformations, problems, and social crises lies primarily in the fact that the working class is still not controlling surplus labor, i.e., the entire social reproduction system...adding that all...[these problems] are the result not only of the poor and inadequate functioning of our political delegate system but of the inadequacies of the political and social system as a whole."

The working class, he says, must not only control self-manacement planning and investment but must also form a complex and competent self-management structure of producers who will have "all the economic reins in their hands," on all levels from opstina to federation and who will know all technological development problems, the foreign and domestic market, industrial linkage possibilities, and economic capacities.

The working class, according to Vranicki, must not be confined to the enterprise level in regard to power: the chambers of associated labor based on workers councils on all levels would be the key factor in solving basic problems of expanded reproduction and planning.

Vranicki favors more "democratic processes in all other spheres of social life, especially the LC, as well as public opinion." By suppressing a democratic public opinion only illusory peace and harmony are attained, while contradictions, deformations, etc accumulate, he said. "I am sure that if we had freer circulation of information, freer discussion and polemics on some very important questions of our society, we would not have had the kind of political drams that we had in the early 1970's and the Kosovo situation later."

According to DANAS, the 15 participants in the discussion did not share Vranicki's optimism. Dr Eugen Pusic said that Vranicki's concept leads to utopianism and idealism because it is based on a romantic notion of the working class. "The working class about which Marx spoke does not exist," Pusic said, but he acknowledged with some reservations that self-management is the essence of socialism, "in contrast to other participants who pointed to the contradictions and unfounded nature of Dr Vranicki's thesis." Dr Milan Mesic said Vranicki was wrong in seeking the germs of self-management in Lenin's Soviets which were political, not economic, organs of power; and Lenin was, above all, Mesic said, the "theoretician of etatism."

Dr Dragutin Marsenic asked: How is it possible to speak about a self-management idea in Marx when he conceived of socialism as a society without a commodity economy, from which one can conclude that socialism is an etatistic society because without a commodity economy there is no self-management?

Dr Josip Zupanov rejected Vranicki's view that every state socialism must develop into self-management, adding that history certainly has not proved this.

In defense, Vranicki said he did not understand the working class to be only direct producers but he sought to broaden the concept [of the working class]. But primarily, "he adhered to his assertion that self-management and not etatism is the basic idea of socialism."

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

HASANI VISITS PRIZREN, KOSOVO--Sinhan Hasani, member of the SFRY Presidency, visited Prizren today. Accompanied by Branio Skembarovic, member of the Kosovo Presidency, he visited the Famipa work organization where he learned about the production results so far and the plans of his oldest collective in the commune. Sinan Hasani stressed the necessity of investing the greatest efforts of all the subjects in our country in implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. He spoke in particular about the tasks of the working people of Kosovo in further improving the political security situation and the relations among nationalities. In the afternoon, Sinan Hasani spoke with representatives of the executive organs of the sociopolitical organizations and the economic and political aktiv of Prizren. [Text]  
[Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Feb 85 AU]

GROCKA PARTY EXPULSIONS--Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG)--The Commission for Statutory Question of the Belgrade LC Organization at today's session analysed complaints against the Grocka LC Municipal Committee Presidium decisions to take measures of ideo-political responsibility on municipal officials for illegal work done in the municipal administration and tax evasion on weekend villas. The commission unanimously confirmed the decisions to expel Radovan Kuzmanovic, former president of the municipal assembly, and Milisav Cvetkovic, former president of the executive council, from the LC. The commission also confirmed the ideo-political measure of final warning, which was pronounced on Dusan Bokalovic, director of the municipal administration of income. [Text]  
[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 27 Feb 85 LD]

DEPARTING CYPRIOT AMBASSADOR--Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)--Dusan Ckrebic, president of the Serbian Presidency, today received Mikhail Serifis, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary for the Republic of Cyprus, on a farewell visit. The ambassador is soon to leave our country. The conversation was attended by Milos Krstic, chairman of the Republican Committee for Relations with Foreign Countries. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 26 Feb 85 LD]

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